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EMERGENCY FOOD ASSISTANCE TO INDIA

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HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

NINETIETH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

H.J. Res. 262 and H.J. Res. 267

FEBRUARY 28, MARCH 1 AND 2, 1967

Serial C

Printed for the use of the Committee on Agriculture



U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1967

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THE HISTORY OF THE

REIGN OF

CHARLES THE FIRST

BY

JOHN BURNET

OF

THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

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EMERGENCY FOOD ASSISTANCE TO INDIA

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 1967

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE,
Washington, D.C.

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10:30 a.m., in room 1301, Longworth House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Hon. W. R. Poage (chairman) presiding.

Present: Representatives Poage, Gathings, Abernethy, Jones of Missouri, Stubblefield, Purcell, O'Neal, Foley, Resnick, de la Garza, Jones of North Carolina, Nichols, Montgomery, Brasco, Stuckey, Rarick, Belcher, Teague, Mrs. May, Dole, Hansen, Wampler, Goodling, Miller, Burke, Mayne, Zwach, Kleppe, and Price.

Also present: Christine S. Gallagher, clerk; Hyde H. Murray, assistant counsel; Francis LeMay, staff consultant; and Fowler C. West, assistant staff consultant.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will please come to order.

The Committee on Agriculture today commences public hearings on House Joint Resolution 267, which I have introduced, and House Joint Resolution 262, introduced by Mr. Dole, to support emergency food assistance to India.

These are identical resolutions which ask that Congress:

(1) Approve the participation of the United States—cooperating with other countries and with multilateral organizations—in meeting India's urgent food needs.

(2) Endorse the President's policy of equal participation on the part of the United States with all other nations.

(3) Recommend that in writing the longtime agreement, that the United States insist that India develop domestic programs or practices which will result in the maximum of domestic food production.

Under existing legislation, the President has broad authority to make these decisions alone. He is not required to come to the Congress, but the extent and importance of the decisions and actions involved in meeting India's urgent needs are such that the President has requested the concurrence of the Congress. I think it is entirely fitting and proper that he should do this. I think that it is desirable that the Executive and the Congress act together in matters of such moment. Moreover, this concurrence should show the world the great heart of America, when confronted with hunger and misery in other nations.

The President's food for India message to the Congress on February 2, 1967, embraces a complete exposition of the proposed actions these resolutions before us would endorse. Witnesses who appear before us will give us more details. I personally want to comment only briefly.

In December, Mr. Dole, of Kansas, and I, and Senators Miller, of Iowa, and McGee, of Wyoming, visited India at the request of the President, for a firsthand study of conditions in that great nation which is plagued by drought and beset by hunger and near famine.

I came away feeling that the future of mankind may now be ground out in India. I recalled that witnesses before our committee a year ago, when we were developing the legislation for a "world war on hunger," testified that if there is no solution in India to the race between population and food, then all the world will live like India does now.

I returned from India encouraged, because I had observed firsthand the spirit there, the energy and the determination of the democratic people of India who resolve the problems which confront them.

I came away convinced that the ultimate salvation of India and, indeed, of other developing areas of the world, is a greater infusion of free enterprise, with the incentives for self-sufficiency, that have created abundance in our own country to an extent never before known in all history. I was convinced that such infusion must be accompanied by intense attention to the explosion of population.

We may very well regard India as a testing place for the future of mankind. I think this is what we are dealing with here today.

In presenting the new food-for-peace, war-on-hunger legislation to the House on May 27 last year, our committee said: "Success in this undertaking will rest ultimately upon the measure of cooperation of other nations, particularly in the underdeveloped areas of the world, in self-help, in developing free enterprise and in population planning." The President, in his message of February 2, said none of the steps proposed to aid India "can be as important as Indian resolve and Indian performance."

I would like to emphasize here that we already have—in Taiwan, Israel, and South Korea—great showcases where American aid, accompanied by the spirit of self-help, infused by incentives of free enterprise, have accomplished self-sufficiency, improved living standards, greater sophistication in food requirements—and then, to reward our own efforts, new markets for U.S. commercial dollar sales for farm products.

Inevitably, when a free world country improves its agriculture, a greater commerce develops between that country and the United States.

In concluding, let me say that we cannot overemphasize incentives for agriculture, particularly for the individual farmer who works the land and produces the food, if we are to win a world war on hunger.

The new food-for-peace legislation enacted last year permits deliberate production of food in the United States to feed hungry people in other nations. Heretofore, we have shipped our surpluses to these nations. Now, we are producing for the specific purpose of feeding the hungry.

We look forward to the day when we can restore absolute freedom of production to the farm—take off all restrictions.

Now that we have brought 30 million acres back into production, or about one-half of what we took out to fight surpluses, we already have encountered a new dilemma. Prices of grains have fallen rapidly in the marketplaces, although our food surpluses are gone.

Prices received by U.S. farmers for what they produce now are actually 8 percent below what they were in 1947, while the wages of manufacturing labor during these last 20 years have increased by 123 percent, and the dividends paid by corporations are up 232 percent. Our agriculture now is caught in a cost-price squeeze. Farm prices have declined for 5 consecutive months, to a low of 75 percent of parity in January. Wheat now brings the farmer about \$2.14 a bushel—including Government payments—in 1947, the farmer received \$2.29 a bushel. Government price supplement and land retirement payments help, but not enough.

The question now is: How do we protect the farmer, in this new goal of abundance to provide assured plenty for our own people and to participate with other nations effectively in this world war on hunger?

This question must enter the consideration of the resolutions before us, and every other consideration that relates to our agriculture, for there is a larger question, and it is this: How long can the American farmer, or any other farmer, keep producing abundantly without a price in the marketplace to reward him for his management and labor and enable him to pay today's prices for the machinery, the chemicals, and other inputs needed to maintain and constantly improve his efficiency?

In weighing measures to share our abundance with hungry people in other nations, I think we must constantly keep in mind that if the incentives for our farmers, the rewards for their enterprise, were as meager as in some other nations, we might go hungry here in these United States.

I am sure this committee, the Congress, and the Nation approve these resolutions for food aid to India. I hope this Nation realizes that this aid is possible only through the enterprise of our farm people, and I pray that all our people will see to it, through proper policy and programs, that there is no interruption in our outpouring of food abundance because our farmers are poorly treated and are unable, through their meager profits, to sustain what is now the greatest, the most efficient plant for the production of food and fiber in all the world.

If we will do that—if we will see that our own farmers have the ability to apply the modern technology and to pay the bills for labor and machinery, if we will give them an income enabling them to do that, they will continue to produce the food that is needed, both in the United States, and indeed, in the developing nations of the world.

Without it, neither American farmers, nor any other farmers can use the modern techniques, entirely apart from anybody's desires. The plain economics of the situation would make it impossible for us to carry on this aid to India or to any other country.

Mr. DOLE. I want to take this opportunity to share the views expressed by our chairman, for having had the opportunity to visit India with him last December on behalf of the President and the Secretary of Agriculture.

Let me say at the outset, certainly, there is no partisanship in hunger. This was a completely bipartisan and nonpartisan trip.

I, certainly, agree with Mr. Poage that the need for food aid to India is immediate.

One of the purposes of our trip there was to determine that.

Secondly, I was impressed with the progress being made by the Indian people and the Government in adopting self-help programs.

Apparently, additional questions may have been raised since our visit there. It seems everyone we visited with has now gone down the drain in the recent election. Frankly, I am awaiting to see what the results will be and awaiting the comments of Mr. Rostow, as to what impact the elections will or may have on our food aid program.

Let me add that I am inclined to believe there must be more than one humanitarian country in the world. The American people, certainly, the farmers and the other taxpayers, generally have been of great service to the hungry world everywhere, but there are limitations. We must face the problem realistically; that is, President Johnson, Secretary Freeman, and, I trust, members of this committee.

The American farmer has the same humanitarian motives we all have, but he cannot produce at a loss and continue to farm when producing at a loss. I am hopeful, perhaps, that with these hearings and with subsequent hearings of this committee, everyone will more fully understand the real plight of the American farmer.

Again, I commend the chairman for his very fine statement this morning, and welcome the Secretary this morning.

The CHAIRMAN. House Joint Resolutions 267 and 262, will be made a part of the record at this point.

(The text of H.J. Res. 267 by Mr. Poage and H.J. Res. 262 by Mr. Dole, identical bills, follows:)

JOINT RESOLUTION

To support emergency food assistance to India

Whereas the Congress has declared it to be the policy of the United States to combat hunger and malnutrition and to encourage economic development in the developing countries; and

Whereas two years of drought have caused a grave food shortage in India which threatens the lives and health of millions of people; and

Whereas the urgency of the need of the Indian people and the time needed for congressional deliberation have required the United States already to commit three million six hundred thousand tons of grain valued at \$275,000,000 as a part of the eight to ten million tons of grain estimated to be required during the calendar year 1967 from outside India to prevent irreparable hardship to the people of India, including \$25,000,000 emergency food relief for distribution by CARE and other American voluntary agencies; and

Whereas the programs of economic and agricultural development which have been launched by the Government of India would be seriously impaired if the international community failed to act promptly and on an adequate scale to meet the urgent needs of the people of India : Therefore be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Congress approves the participation of the United States in cooperation with other countries and with multilateral organizations, including the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, the Food and Agricultural Organization, and others, in urgent international efforts designed to—

(a) develop a comprehensive self-help approach to the war on hunger based on a fair sharing of the burden among the nations of the world ;

(b) encourage and assist the Government of India in achieving food self-sufficiency ; and

(c) help meet India's critical food and nutritional needs by making available agricultural commodities or other resources needed for food procurement or production.

The Congress endorses the President's policy of equal participation on the part of the United States with all other nations, under terms and conditions set forth in Public Law 480, as amended, in assisting the Government of India to meet these needs.

Further, the Congress recommends, on the basis of estimates now available, that the United States provide an additional amount of food grain not to exceed three million tons at an estimated cost of \$190,000,000 as the United States share toward meeting the India food deficit, provided it is appropriately matched, and specifically extends its support to the allocation of approximately \$190,000,000 of funds available to the Commodity Credit Corporation in calendar year 1967 which will be required to accomplish this purpose.

The Congress further recommends that the President provide an additional \$25,000,000 of emergency food relief for distribution by CARE and other American voluntary agencies.

The CHAIRMAN. We are now privileged to have with us the Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Freeman. I am going to ask Mr. Freeman to make such remarks on this subject as he sees fit. We will, probably, have to defer questioning the Secretary, because we have several other witnesses present here this morning whom we want to hear. We probably will have to ask the Secretary to be here at a later time.

We are delighted to have the Secretary with us today. We will be glad to hear from you now, Mr. Freeman.

Secretary FREEMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee. I might point out that Mr. Rostow, the Undersecretary of State, is here from the Department of State, and also the Associate Administrator to the AID Agency Mr. Herbert Waters.

If the chairman thinks it advisable, perhaps the gentlemen might join me here at the witness table.

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly, we will be glad to have them join you. We had anticipated that each one would make a separate statement, but we will be glad to have them join you at the table, and anyone else that you care to invite up there.

Mr. FREEMAN. We have some others from the respective departments, and in the event that the committee desires information that we do not readily have available, then we might all join here in answering the committee's questions if it meets the desires of the committee.

Inasmuch as all three agencies and two departments are deeply involved in this program it would seem to me that we could best get to the heart of the matter and to the committee's questions if we shared in this testimony.

So, if I may, Mr. Chairman, I will just proceed.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, we will be glad to have you proceed.

STATEMENT OF HON. ORVILLE L. FREEMAN, SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE, ACCOMPANIED BY THOMAS R. HUGHES, EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT TO THE SECRETARY

Secretary FREEMAN. Almost a year ago we met on a similar occasion—to consider the need for emergency aid to India. The committee acted quickly and favorably on the President's special appeal—which we deeply appreciated.

Since that time, and in close consultation with the Congress, we have carried out this emergency food mission. It has been outstand-

ingly successful in saving lives and averting what might have been one of the great famines of all time. I take this occasion to report to you on what has taken place this last year, and to urge your support for the joint resolution submitted by Congressman Poage and Congressman Dole.

Let me briefly review the mathematics of India's food problem last year. In 1964-65 India produced a record 89 million tons of food grains—significantly above the stable 80-million-ton level of production that prevailed in the early 1960's. But in 1965-66 the monsoon rains were the poorest in nearly a century. Food grain production fell to only 72 million tons. Crop failure was widespread and starvation was imminent.

India, with our help and with help from a number of other countries, mobilized to import a record amount of food grains and to make effective distribution of it. Altogether, India imported over 10 million tons. More than 8 million tons of this came from the United States—about four-fifths wheat and about one-fifth grain sorghums. We estimate that the food grains we provided supplied the daily grain rations for 60 million Indian people, about one-eighth of the entire population. Through considerable belt-tightening and effective distribution of available food, India was able to avoid famine with a substantially smaller total supply of grain than was available in earlier years.

Last year many people wondered whether it was possible to move such a large volume of grain out of the United States to India without disrupting normal transportation and marketing. The amount of grain imports required by India was well beyond the level that had ever moved through her ports and that had ever been distributed to her needy people.

The effectiveness with which the grain was moved and distributed is a tribute to dedicated and coordinated effort that stretched from the wheat fields in the United States to the villages of India.

Here in the United States we were faced with a boxcar shortage, a frozen Great Lakes seaway, and crowded gulf coast port facilities. But through extraordinary measures we were able to maximize shipments from east coast ports.

The Department of Agriculture enlisted the cooperation of nine railroad companies to ship grain through the use of covered hopper unit trains. The covered hopper cars hold nearly twice as much grain as a boxcar, load and unload faster, and lose less grain in transit. Unit trains of 50 cars made complete round trips from Minneapolis to the east coast in 5 to 8 days, compared with 23 days for a train of boxcars.

A train of about 50 hopper cars hauled enough grain to provide a day's ration to 20 million Indian people.

Through the cooperation of American railroads and the Department of Agriculture a new railroading record was established. Railroad employees and officials were enthusiastic. As one official said:

We have never before in the history of the railroad moved a trainload of grain from Minneapolis to Galveston or to the east coast and had our cars emptied and returned in 5 to 8 days.

The President's program and the program authorized by the Congress was executed on a timely basis; and the needed food grains reached India as programmed.

India, too, was faced with the need for receiving and distributing grain in greater volume than ever before. At her request we sent over a high level team of experts to recommend a blueprint for action. Maximum Indian port capacity, prior to the survey by the team, had been 800,000 tons per month. As a result of the teams' recommendations and initiatives by the Government of India, as much as 1.2 million tons of grain, in addition to other bulk commodities, per month were unloaded.

In combination with a stepped-up and highly efficient program of transportation and distribution, U.S. grain reached the people of India who needed it most in a timely and effective manner. Not only were the poor of India's cities provided with needed grain, but grain reached the thousands of villages with insufficient food. Numerous work projects were carried out and financed with U.S. grain. Our food assistance was not used by India as a dole. It was used to finance useful efforts such as building roads and improving irrigation systems.

The cooperation between India and America in this huge humanitarian effort was outstanding. The U.S. Government agencies involved worked together in an efficient, coordinated effort under an inter-agency Indian task force headed by Mr. C. R. Eskildsen, then Associate Administrator of the Foreign Agricultural Service, making a record of which we can be proud. In every way we lived up to our American tradition of helping a neighbor in need, and earned the gratitude which India has officially expressed.

Today we are here to consider a second appeal on behalf of the people of India.

For the second year in a row, nature has been unkind to India's farmers. Last year the lack of rainfall was widespread; this year the lack is mainly in northern India. But, the accumulation of two successive years of drought is serious and India will again need about 10 million tons of grain imports to avert famine.

It is a cruel trick of fate that what assisting nations did last year needs redoing this year.

The Members of Congress are well acquainted with the hardships that India is facing. As you are well aware, your chairman, Mr. Poage, and Congressman Dole as well as Senator McGee, Senator Moss, and Senator Miller have all been in India recently and have viewed the situation firsthand. I take this occasion once again to thank them on behalf of President Johnson for responding to his request and giving of their own time and energy during the busy holiday season. In their report to the President, all agreed that the situation is real and serious, requiring both a higher degree of self-help in India itself and a substantial amount of help from the outside.

We live in hope, and the odds would certainly seem to be that nature will cooperate in the year ahead so that India will have a normal crop and will move ahead with its extensive agricultural improvement plans so that such massive assistance will not be necessary a third time. It is India's purpose and ours that massive food aid will not be necessary much longer. India's target for food self-sufficiency is 1972. We will continue to try to help them meet that target. Meanwhile, India faces

an immediate problem of compensating for this second year of poor harvests.

President Johnson, in his February 2 message on India food, responded to this new need by announcing an immediate allocation of 2 million tons of U.S. food grains under the title I program. These shipments, along with grains already in the pipeline, will help maintain a steady flow to India into early summer—and this will provide the time to formulate the consortium approach to India's food aid that the President has recommended.

The food aid challenge of India, both for the present and for the years ahead, is clearly too great a burden for any one nation or small group of nations to shoulder. The President said, "All advanced nations—including those which import food—must share the burden of feeding the hungry and building their capacity to feed themselves."

The President's proposal that we link our efforts with those of other countries through an India Food Aid Consortium is a highly practical way to bring about this sharing of the load.

The India Aid Consortium has been assisting India, mainly in the area of foreign exchange problems, since 1958. The World Bank serves as chairman. Member countries include Austria, Belgium, Canada, France, West Germany, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Some other countries also are helping India and may be willing to join in the food aid effort.

The consortium, during the 1962-65 period, supplied India with about \$4½ billion in grants and loans. It is intimately acquainted with India's development problems. The proposed integrating of Indian food aid with broader programs of economic assistance, and with capital and technical assistance for agricultural development, can provide a much stronger helping hand that India must have if it is to cope successfully with its mountainous problems of too little food for a large and growing population.

As the President said, India needs to import about 10 million tons of food grains this year. We estimate that about 2.3 billion tons are now in the pipeline. Of this amount, the United States has contributed 1.6 million tons, Canada has contributed approximately 200,000 tons, Australia has granted 150,000 tons and sold 150,000 tons, and the Soviet Union has made a grant of 200,000 tons. We are adding 2 million tons to this amount through our new allocation. This leaves a deficit to be met of 5.7 million tons. We propose to supply 3 million tons of this, provided that it is appropriately matched by other countries.

Under the consortium approach to food aid, we hope the other countries will help to supply food and will also be generous in supplying fertilizer and other agricultural production assistance.

The big job, of course, must be done by India itself. The President, like the Members of Congress who recently visited India, places strong emphasis on the necessity of India—through self-help—doing the utmost to cope with its food and population crisis. And the President is encouraged that India is making serious efforts to do this. India has added new notes of practicality and urgency to its agricultural improvement efforts.

Starting in late 1965 the Government of India began to place increasing emphasis on agricultural development. The food crises of

the past few years made it unmistakably clear to India's leaders that agriculture, among all the development objectives, had to receive high priority.

Very significant changes have occurred in India's agricultural policies and the commitment of resources to agriculture. Public investment scheduled for agriculture during the fourth 5-year plan will be more than double that of the third plan. Agriculture is second only to national defense in the fourth plan. Accelerated investments in agriculture have already begun to take place. Budget expenditures for agriculture during 1966-67 are 43 percent above the 1965-66 total.

In addition to the fourth 5-year plan, the Indian Government has developed an annual subplan that will permit early evaluations of performance. This procedure introduces a new degree of flexibility in adjusting resource allocations within agriculture to insure that production targets are met.

Since 1964, the Indian Government has been providing food grain producers minimum price support at levels sufficient to encourage greater production.

At a meeting of state and central government leaders in November 1966, it was agreed that a national food budget system should be immediately developed to facilitate greater sharing between surplus and deficit states. The staff work for the food budget is nearing completion and the budget is expected to be announced this spring. This effort, together with an extensive system of food rationing, will help achieve a more equitable distribution of food during the period of food scarcity.

The Indian Government took a number of steps in 1966 to stimulate investment in fertilizer production capacity and to insure sufficient imports of fertilizer to meet established targets for total fertilizer availability.

India has taken the following steps to improve the investment climate for the manufacture of fertilizer in the private sector:

(a) All geographic constraints on fertilizer marketing within each state have been removed, and New Delhi plans to remove constraints on interstate movement as soon as supplies permit.

(b) All private manufacturers of fertilizer who commit themselves to invest in India prior to March 31, 1967, will be allowed freely to price and distribute their products with no government regulations.

(c) Simplified and streamlined procedures for approving and licensing foreign private investment in the manufacture of fertilizer have been put into effect and, together with new policies on foreign private investment (e.g., acceptance of management control by the foreign collaborator), have succeeded in speeding negotiations with investors already under way and in stimulating proposals from other foreign firms.

(d) In allocating foreign exchange, top priority has been given to fertilizer including fertilizer raw materials and spare parts for fertilizer plants. (Foreign exchange allocations for fertilizer in 1965-66 were \$163 million and in the current year they are \$268 million.)

Substantial progress has been made toward increasing the operating efficiency of fertilizer plants in the public sector. As a percent of

capacity, production has been raised from 63 percent in 1965 to an estimated 80 percent in 1966. The principal reasons for operation of plants at low levels of capacity were a lack of raw materials, a shortage of spare parts, and poorly designed plants. Indian efforts to date have improved the situation on all these fronts. Steps are also being taken to reduce the dependence upon sulfur—in short supply world around—in the manufacture of fertilizer in India, and to develop India's pyrite deposits which may make it possible to meet all the sulfur requirements by 1974.

To maximize food production from available inputs, India has adopted a strategy of concentrating a combination of agricultural inputs, including new, high-yielding seeds, on the most productive land with an assured supply of water. Already the evidence indicates that the concentration of available inputs on selected acreage has been carried out effectively, although drought has ruled out the possibility of reaching the target of 1 additional ton of food grain per acre. But the program is demonstrating that Indian farmers, given proper guidance and necessary inputs, can dramatically raise productivity levels.

For the fourth 5-year plan a target of 32.5 million acres has been set for this high-yielding varieties program, and an adequate supply of fertilizer, improved seed varieties, plant protection materials, and irrigation are to be assured for this acreage. During the 1966-67 crop year India plans to cover 6.4 million acres under this program—an effort without precedent.

A Cabinet-level committee on agricultural credit has been established. Also, a working-level committee of the Indian Government is currently studying ways to establish a national agricultural credit program. Steps have been taken this year to increase (about 10 percent over last year) the supply of credit to cultivators through credit cooperatives and, on a pilot basis, to use the Food Corporation of India to extend credit to cultivators as an advance on their crop. Cultivators can pay off their loans by either grain or cash. Finally, private banks have been urged to establish rural credit programs.

There has been some speedup in Indian performance in the soil and water management field. The basic outline for a new program has been developed (with USAID/U.S. Geological Survey assistance) and a central coordinating body has been set up and is partially staffed. In addition, India has developed, and is beginning to implement (with USAID/Soil Conservation Service assistance) a program for the better management and more intensive utilization of available water.

Actual progress made in India's agricultural development effort is obscured this year by the second successive year of serious drought. We are encouraged, however, by the fact that food grain production this year in states not affected by the drought is well above that of any previous year.

In addition to agricultural development efforts, family planning is being encouraged across the nation.

President Johnson said in his message on India food:

India is off to a good start. But it is only a start. As Indian officials have warned, hard work remains in reaching targets they have set and in improving cooperation among state governments. India's economic problems are enormous. But they can be solved.

As realists, we know that India has a long, long way to go in solving its problems. But India is moving and there is hope—if it gets enough help, of the right kind, soon enough, from enough countries.

Your proposed joint resolution to support emergency food assistance to India is, in my opinion, well phrased and extremely important.

It will lend the strength, understanding, and support of the Congress and the American people to the compassionate yet highly practical proposals made by President Johnson.

I sincerely hope that the Congress will once again—as you did last year—give this urgent matter your strong endorsement.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Secretary, we are very much obliged to you for this presentation.

The chairman is somewhat confused. I find myself in the position of the boy who was dragging a rope along the road and had someone stop him to ask what was the matter, who said, “Are you going to hang yourself?” The boy said, “No, sir, I am just befuddled and confused.”

“What do you mean by that?” He said, “Just that—I am confused—I do not know whether I lost my mule or found this rope.” [Laughter.]

I think that the chairman is in a somewhat similar state of confusion. I had understand that the Maid of Cotton was going to be with us at this hour this morning, but I now understand that she has other engagements, and therefore will not be with us. She will be with us tomorrow morning. And I invite you all back for that occasion. But I would not let this audience go unrewarded, because, in my unprejudiced viewpoint, we are equally fortunate in that we have in the audience this morning a former Maid of Cotton, Mrs. Fritz-Alan Korth, of Waco, who was the Maid of Cotton several years ago. She formerly was Miss Penne Percy. I wonder if you would stand up, Penne?

(Mrs. Fritz-Alan Korth arose.) [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. I think all of you will agree that nobody has been defrauded this morning.

Secretary FREEMAN. May I make a suggestion, please, sir? If Mr. Rostow and Mr. Waters were permitted to make brief statements, we could all three be here for the questioning and in that way could be available on, shall we say, a broader front?

The CHAIRMAN. I think that would save time, and we will proceed that way.

Secretary FREEMAN. Mr. Waters says he has no prepared statement, but I think Mr. Rostow has.

The CHAIRMAN. We will be glad to hear from Mr. Rostow next. We are delighted to have you here, and we appreciate your attendance here, Mr. Rostow, and we will now be delighted to hear from you.

STATEMENT OF HON. EUGENE V. ROSTOW, UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS, ACCOMPANIED BY HERBERT J. WATERS, ASSISTANT ADMINISTRATOR, WAR ON HUNGER, AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT; WALTER FURST, INDIA DESK, AID; ALAN NOVAK, SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO UNDER SECRETARY ROSTOW; MARY OLMSTEAD, INDIA DESK, DEPARTMENT OF STATE; AND KAY FOLGER, SPECIAL ASSISTANT. CONGRESSIONAL RELATIONS, DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Secretary Rostow. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you very much. I am delighted to be here. This is my first appearance before a congressional committee on this new job of mine, and I am very pleased that it is before this committee, because I have been very interested in agricultural problems, as they relate to my responsibility in the Department of State.

First, I would like to express my appreciation and that of the Department for what you, Mr. Chairman, and Congressman Dole have said in opening the meeting today.

The cooperation between the legislative and the executive branch on this urgent and fundamental problem, it seems to me, has been a model on how to carry on the public business. Thanks to the leadership of the ranking members of this committee and of other Congressmen and Senators who went to India in December and participated in a long series of frank and helpful consultations on the subject, we have, I think, made substantial progress on this food program.

Secretary Freeman has already covered most of the key points about the agricultural side of the problem in India. I propose briefly to comment on the nature of the international response to India's food problems and, particularly, the impressions I gained as a result of my recent trip with Under Secretary Schnittker to various world capitals under the direction of the President in this connection.

I would like to begin by responding to Congressman Dole's question about the impact of recent political events within India.

The largest election in the world, as you know, began on February 15, and the results of it became known over this past weekend. More than 175 million people have been to the polls in an election which saw democracy at work on a mammoth scale. Some very powerful political figures have been toppled by newcomers in some constituencies, while familiar names have been returned to Parliament or to the State Assemblies from others. And this is hardly a surprising phenomenon in an active and healthy democracy.

The full implications of these election results on the makeup of the postelection government, and the policies it will pursue are not yet discernible, but the most striking characteristic of this election, in my judgment, was its demonstration of the depth and strength of India's commitment to the democratic process. This expression of the will of the Indian people in a democratic election stands in sharp contrast to recent developments in China which have been marked by violence bordering on anarchy and civil war. And this stability is all the more noteworthy when we consider that India has been through the strains of two very difficult years of food shortages and those problems have not yet been alleviated.

The election, I think, also demonstrates very dramatically the nature of Indian society which both underpins and is responsive to the democratic process. India's democratic institutions have been taking root for several decades and they have succeeded and are succeeding in managing the world's largest and most pluralistic democracy through the early years of independence, through four general elections, and through two major succession crises.

The Congress Party has now been returned to power at the center, albeit with a much smaller majority, and a new government must be formed. Once we know the makeup of that government, we will be able to gage its policies. But the way in which the elections were played out, the issues involved, and the results thereof, all suggest that the high priorities assigned to agricultural production and economic development will continue. Whatever the composition of the future government and its policies, one thing is certain—we will continue to have a stake in the success of India's democratic institutions.

I think it would be unwise to comment in detail on how this new government will be formed, who will be in it, and who will be out of it. One thing our reports do indicate, however, which is quite predictable, is that the new political groupings which are shaping up, as the result of the election, suggest there will be an intensification of the pragmatic policies in the fields of agriculture, trade and investment.

Many of the groups, which have been strengthened in the election, are strong supporters of these policies.

Turning now to the problems of Indian food, I should like first, to speak briefly about the trip Under Secretary Schnittker and I took in January at the request of President Johnson. We visited eight major capitals of the world. We exchanged views with governments of seven countries belonging to the India Consortium—Japan, Italy, France, Germany, Great Britain, the Netherlands, and Belgium as well as with the Government of India.

In each capital we conveyed President Johnson's grave concern that the developing world is losing ground in the race between food and population; that despite U.S. efforts to increase acreage, our country can no longer be counted on to supply an inexhaustible reserve of food grains for the hungry; and that the United States believes all nations of the world, rich and poor alike, must shoulder their share of the world's fight against hunger and malnutrition.

We also emphasized the President's view that the failure of other nations to join in this effort would increase the risk that the world would move down a road of intolerable suffering; that India was not alone in facing the specter of near famine, but that India could serve as a model for other developing countries facing like problems, if the Indian effort was adequately supported through international action.

All the countries we visited accepted the idea that food aid for India during this emergency should be viewed as an international responsibility. There was also broad agreement that the Indian Consortium under the World Bank could provide an effective systematic basis for organizing such an international effort. The Indian Consortium is already coordinating international efforts to help India fulfill its broad economic plans including its plans for increased food production. It was recognized that adding food aid to the Consortium's responsibilities would insure that food aid needs are coordinated with India's

other assistance requirements and with India's own economic development efforts, particularly those directed at increasing food production.

And, finally, there was substantial and general agreement that emergency food aid for India should not be allowed to diminish the flow of resources coming forward under other developmental programs, but should be in addition to existing targets for economic assistance. Everyone agreed that if the Indians have to use large quantities of their foreign exchange for food India's strong programs of economic and agricultural development and trade liberalization would have to be suspended, thus ending India's hopes for achieving food sufficiency within the next 5 years and rapid economic growth.

Consequently, those countries which are not food exporters are considering contributions in cash which could be used to buy food, or fertilizers, pesticides, or shipping to transport food or fertilizer on concessional terms, since such contributions in kind would release Indian foreign exchange to buy food.

Still another form of contribution would be to offer India relief from its mounting debt burden. Such relief, on generous terms, would not only free foreign exchange for food purposes, but would also help India to stave off a balance-of-payments crisis arising in large part as the result of food shortages and droughts of the last 2 years.

But whatever form the contributions might take, the important point is that such contributions must be additional to planned economic assistance targets if India's progress toward self-sustaining growth and food self-sufficiency is to continue.

This is the second successive year in which the world community has assisted in meeting India's food needs—in which the world community has had to come forward on a new basis to assist in meeting India's food needs. There was a worldwide response to India's food problems in 1966, in which some 36 countries contributed food grains, or food-related aid to meet the emergency created by last year's drought.

Nevertheless, in 1966, the United States still provided about 85 percent of the grain made available to India on a concessional basis. We believe that other advanced countries should carry more of the load than they have in the past. This is the idea underlying President Johnson's Consortium proposal for matching U.S. contributions in the second half of this calendar year. But we cannot expect these countries to take over the task of meeting half of India's food imports needs immediately. Full matching of our concessional deliveries may not be possible this year, although we have not given up hope of success in that effort.

Many of the advanced nations which agree with the concept of burden-sharing have budgetary problems, or are in the midst of the elections, or are unable to make additional aid available on short notice. Nonetheless, the President's proposal is a clear move in the direction of greater burden-sharing, and we are working toward that objective. Nonetheless, the responses we have had to it so far and the responses that we expect during the next 2 months are clearly steps in the direction of more equitable burden-sharing and we are working hard toward that goal.

Our efforts to secure and to attract a greater international response to India's diplomatic request for help, has not been limited to the Consortium countries that we visited. We have also held discussions about the Indian food problem through regular diplomatic channels

with the other Consortium members and with other interested governments. Indeed, our Government has approached a total of 19 other governments in support of the President's call for an international food effort for India.

The international response is growing. Several governments have already announced additional emergency food aid in recent months, and others will do so within the next few weeks. Last November Canada announced it would donate 150,000 tons of wheat, plus some flour and dried milk immediately, and an additional 661,000 tons of wheat, worth \$50 million, in the period from April 1967 to March 1968. Australia made a 150,000-ton grant of wheat in December and the Soviet Union made a 200,000 wheat gift that same month. The world food program donated 35,000 tons of wheat in December and, also, promised 82,500 tons of seed grain, and 8,500 tons of dried milk powder as part of a long-range development program. To mention a few other gifts, Norway and Sweden have announced fertilizer aid, and the French Government has decided to donate milk powder. These are a part of the current effort.

We understand that some other governments have decided to make donations, but have not yet formally announced their decision. Still others, for reasons which the members of this committee will surely appreciate, are still uncertain about the amount they can obtain from their legislatures. Two international meetings are expected within about a month's time to discuss the Indian food situation, and we should have a better idea of the extent of this international response after those meetings.

Congressman Dole in his opening remarks asked very pertinently whether we are the only humanitarian country in the world. I am glad to assure him and the other members of the committee that this is not the case. I should like to put into the record, Mr. Chairman, if I may, a little later, an up-to-date table on this subject, based on figures collected by the OECD as a part of the ongoing work in the field of aid.

The CHAIRMAN. That may be done without objection.
(The document follows:)

The flow of financial resources as a percentage of national income 1962-65

Country	Total official flow				Total private flow				Total official and private flow			
	1962	1963	1964	1965	1962	1963	1964	1965	1962	1963	1964	1965
Australia.....	(0.59)	(0.60)	(0.61)	0.64	-----	-----	0.11	0.12	¹ (0.59)	¹ (0.60)	(0.72)	0.76
Austria.....	.25	.04	.22	.49	0.31	0.06	.10	.19	.56	.10	.33	.68
Belgium.....	.77	.81	.67	.90	.47	.86	.76	.91	1.24	1.67	1.43	1.81
Canada.....	.19	.32	.39	.34	.19	.11	.09	.09	.33	.43	.48	.43
Denmark.....	.12	.15	.15	.17	.12	(.01)	.30	.03	.25	(.17)	.45	.22
France.....	1.76	1.39	1.25	1.08	.71	.68	.83	.80	2.53	2.07	2.08	1.88
Germany.....	.66	.59	.53	.50	.27	.23	.34	.33	.93	.82	.87	.83
Italy.....	.35	.31	.14	.22	.96	.65	.48	.43	1.32	.96	.62	.65
Japan.....	.19	.26	.19	.37	.44	.26	.31	.37	.63	.52	.50	.74
Netherlands.....	.83	.32	.35	.41	.48	.92	.58	1.12	1.30	1.24	.93	1.53
Norway.....	.17	.48	.35	.22	.10	.19	.20	.49	.27	.66	.55	.71
Portugal.....	1.69	1.98	2.29	.75	-----	-----	-----	.33	¹ 1.69	¹ 1.98	¹ 2.29	1.08
Sweden.....	.16	.18	.24	.25	.16	.24	.25	.20	.32	.42	.48	.45
Unit. Kingdom.....	.64	.60	.67	.61	.47	.40	.56	.56	1.11	1.00	1.22	1.17
United States.....	.80	.78	.67	.67	.18	.18	.25	.31	.97	.96	.92	.98
Total DAC countries..	.74	.70	.62	.61	.30	.27	.34	.38	1.04	.97	.96	.99

¹ Official flows only.

Secretary Rostow. That table will show the percentages of national income of the richer countries that they are devoting to aid.

Several countries devote more of their income to aid than we do, some as much, or nearly as much. These figures, of course, are on an absolute basis. They are not progressive. They simply show the amount of national income devoted to this purpose, without attempting to scale it for the richer and the poorer countries.

We believe, and of course, I think, all of the advanced nations of the world now accept the principle that the rich have the responsibility of helping the poor and, particularly, in this case that the rich have a responsibility in helping India to meet its food needs in this emergency. But we believe that these efforts should not be efforts simply of humanitarian charity—that they must be considered in the framework of economic plans that make sense. As the President stressed in his India food message, “None of these steps can be as important as Indian resolve and Indian performance.”

Secretary Freeman has just reviewed for you India’s self-help program in some detail. And I know that you, Mr. Chairman, and other members of this committee have studied and examined this question very seriously, both here and on the ground; therefore, I do not propose to discuss India’s agricultural program at great length.

However, I should like to make several points which I consider crucial.

In the first place, it does seem that there seems to be “light at the end of this tunnel.”

The members of this committee have had great experience in agriculture; you all know how difficult it is to achieve dramatic changes in agriculture in a very short time. Nevertheless, dramatic changes in policy and attitude have taken place in India during the past 2 years. And they have reached right down to the agricultural habits of the farmer himself. The Indian Government’s high priority for agriculture has been translated into appropriate budgetary allocations. The new emphasis on providing fertilizer and other badly needed inputs to the cultivator and on incentive prices for the farmer has been firmly established and seems to me to be irreversible. Unfortunately, the effects of the past 2 years of drought have masked these changes. But the results obtained from these new attitudes and policies in areas unaffected by the drought are encouraging, and the prospects for the future, assuming good weather, are definitely promising.

In the second place, I should like to take note in particular of the Indian Government’s activities in the drought stricken area in the State of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. The Central Government’s grain deliveries to Bihar have been increased to 200,000 tons a month, and Uttar Pradesh to 90,000 tons.

Previous deliveries were 100,000 tons and 66,000 tons respectively. Part of the increase came from the States in India which have a local grain surplus, some part came from abroad. These moves permitted the increase of the ration covering 19 million people in the drought area from 4 ounces per day to 6 ounces, which is still well below subsistence level, and represents only half of a man’s normal daily requirements.

In order to increase the grain available to the drought area, the Indian Government reduced the weekly food grain ration by 12 per-

cent for 28 million people in other parts of India. The ration cut for additional millions is under consideration for the same purpose.

For India's landless laborers, crop failure means immediate unemployment and the suspension of income. For these people, left without money to buy food, the Bihar State government has established public work projects. In December 1966, some 500,000 people were engaged on relief projects in Bihar. State officials estimate that 1.5 million people will be working on relief projects by the end of this year.

Other emergency food relief measures in the drought area include CARE meals for mothers and children, some additional milk for schoolchildren not covered by the CARE program, and distribution of multivitamin tablets—all directed to the most vulnerable segments of the population. In addition to CARE, the Church World Services, Catholic Relief, Lutheran World Services, and UNICEF are also operating in the drought-stricken areas. There has been an intensification of these most important voluntary efforts; at the present time 3.6 million mothers and children in Bihar are receiving assistance from the voluntary agencies. Last year this effort covered only 600,000 people. These agencies have shifted supplies from other areas in order to step up their activities in the drought areas. Congressional approval of the \$25 million donational program mentioned in your resolution, will permit the expansion and continuation of these programs. And it will permit this expansion and continuation of these programs without a break in the pipeline.

The food outlook in Bihar for the rest of this year depends on a variety of as yet unknown factors. If New Delhi can maintain 200,000 tons monthly grain shipments to Bihar, and if the State's grain crop is adequate, widespread famine can be avoided, although hunger and deep hunger cannot. However, if the Central Government is unable to maintain the current flow of grains to the area, or if the spring crop is poor, and the failure of the normal winter rains indicates a poor crop, the situation will be touch and go until the areas major harvest in December. We are watching the situation closely because we recognize that it may be necessary to increase our donational program for the drought area; the \$25 million program may not be enough.

Third, one cannot speak of the Indian food problem without speaking of the population problem. And the action taken by the Indian Government makes it clear that India now fully appreciates the critical importance of family planning programs. In its new fourth 5-year plan, India proposed to devote four times as much money to family planning as was spent during the first three 5-year plans combined. The right organizational steps are being taken as well. A separate subcabinet level department has been established to be responsible for the administration of family planning programs. This department includes the high officials who ran India's most successful State family planning program in the Punjab. Thus far, the implementation of their program has been weak, but we expect improved results with more adequate funds and better direction which are now being provided.

Mr. Chairman, I believe the President's program, which follows in large measure the wise recommendation of your congressional team,

which visited India, and those of other Members of Congress and Senators who visited India during the winter, deserves the support of the Congress for a number of reasons. I would like to mention a number of those reasons.

First and foremost, there is the humanitarian reason. It is the right thing to do. People are hungry, very hungry, in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, and we have food to spare. The tradition of helping a neighbor in distress is strong in America and this is a tradition we should live up to. As the President stated in his message, "We have never stood idly by while famine or pestilence raged among any part of the human family. America would cease to be America if we walked on the other side when confronted by such catastrophe."

Furthermore, we believe that India is on the right track in its agricultural development program and that if we help India over this crisis, we will see its food grain import requirements drop as its agricultural development programs take hold. On the other hand, if we do not provide India with the food grain that the President has recommended, the Indian Government would be forced to spend more hard currency on food to prevent widespread starvation. In order to do this the Indian Government would have to divert large amounts of hard currency, hundreds of millions of dollars from its economic development plan. This would undermine programs for which the U.S. Government, other Western governments, and the World Bank have encouraged and supported. It would be most unfortunate if this year's drought forced the Indian Government to postpone its economic development programs.

And finally, by this new initiative, President Johnson proposes to use U.S. food aid as a basis for stimulating a greater international effort in the war on hunger.

Similar efforts are also underway in other international forums. To form a basis for a long-range approach to the world food problem, the United States is proposing in the Kennedy round negotiations an international grains agreement containing a multilateral food aid program to be supported by grain exporters and importers alike.

And to facilitate the flow of fertilizer and other agricultural inputs so essential to increasing production in the developing world, the United States has urged the establishment of a food fund supported by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) members and designed to encourage investors in the OECD countries to invest in agricultural and agricultural related industries in the developing world. In this way we can mobilize the private energy and the private initiative working for the development of agriculture and greatly multiply the impact of our public program.

Through these many efforts the President is seeking to develop the habits of collective responsibility and collective action and the reflex sense of a common humanity. He believes that such international partnerships are our best hope for future peace and progress. For these reasons, Mr. Chairman, I hope that your committee will give the President's program its full support.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Rostow. We appreciate this excellent statement. We will now hear what Mr. Waters has to say to us, and then we will have questions by the committee members.

Mr. Waters is well known to this committee and to all of the members who have been here for sometime. He first was over on the Senate side as an aide to the present Vice President, and since then he has been down in the Executive Offices. Ye are glad to have you with us.

STATEMENT OF HERBERT J. WATERS, ASSISTANT ADMINISTRATOR, WAR ON HUNGER, AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

MR. WATERS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I do not have a prepared statement for the committee at this time. I am here merely to back up and to be available to answer any detailed questions that the members of the committee may have.

The two excellent presentations by Secretary Freeman and Secretary Rostow have posed the problems and what we are proposing to do about it.

I think that I will yield the microphone and let you go ahead with your questioning.

THE CHAIRMAN. We are glad to have you here, Mr. Waters. We are glad to have your presentation.

MR. GATHINGS has a question which he wants to ask.

MR. GATHINGS. Those were very fine statements. I would like to commend both of you gentlemen for presenting us with these thought-provoking remarks this morning. It's gratifying to learn that India is doing so much to aid itself in this food emergency.

As a politician I find that I can get a lot more votes by working hard myself when I get out on the campaign. My supporters see that I, myself, have decided to work in my own interests, and they do things for me then. That is what India is doing, from the statements that you have brought to us this morning.

MR. SECRETARY, I was especially delighted at that part of your statement that had to do with the fertilizer industry in India. That, to me, was the most enlightening of all of your testimony.

I would like to call attention to the increase in the budgetary allocation for agriculture of 43 percent in 1 year's time in India that you brought out. And, also, that higher priority is being given agriculture in India.

There is one thing, though, Mr. Secretary, which I wonder if you would comment on a little further and that is with respect to this hopper type of car that holds double the amount of a boxcar in grain, which speeds across the country from Minneapolis to the east coast and returns in some 5 to 8 days. How did that happen? Did the Department of Agriculture cooperate with the railroads in developing this hopper car?

SECRETARY FREEMAN. This had not been done, Mr. Gathings, prior to the necessity of developing some new methods a year ago. It was clear to us that, given the volume of grain that was moving out of this country, the traditional methods of moving it would simply break down and we would not be able to move that volume of grain and get it to its destination on time unless something new was developed. So we sat down with the railroads in connection with this and in the course of these discussions, this new system, so to speak, was developed

for these large cars that went straight through, unloaded, and then deadheaded back immediately. As a result, without any great disturbance, although there were some very tight port situations, we were able to move out of the country last year an alltime export record of more than 800 million bushels of grain, and we did so without unduly taxing our transportation or port facilities.

Mr. GATHINGS. I thought the committee would be interested in this.

If I may take this occasion to just say this, I think that the people in the Department of Agriculture, including the Secretary now, who worked this out, have done a fine job of public service.

It is a great job of public service, Mr. Secretary. They have had this piggy-back type of transportation of goods and commodities heretofore but this work that you have done there with the hopper car movement of grain is amazing.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Mr. Gathings.

Mr. Belcher.

Mr. BELCHER. This resolution is drafted as the sense of the Congress, is it not?

Secretary FREEMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. BELCHER. Is it an amendment to Public Law 480?

Secretary FREEMAN. No; it is not.

Mr. BELCHER. It does not give the executive department any legal authority that it does not have already?

Secretary FREEMAN. That is correct.

Mr. BELCHER. During the 17 years that I have been here I had really thought that the State Department was jealous of their authority and prerogatives and so forth. I am wondering now why the State Department would like to have the House of Representatives Committee on Agriculture mess in their affairs.

Secretary FREEMAN. I am not sure. Let me put it this way. This was a Presidential decision and not one particularly of the State Department, although the President consulted with them and with other executive parts of the Government. It is the President's wish. He thought the Congress would want to be consulted about commitments of this volume of food and the amount of money involved in this proposed arrangement and that congressional consultation should be had. This would be an opportunity for congressional expression and, in the process, for enlightening the people of the country. This is a large arrangement and it has many implications. The President wanted the Congress, as the saying goes, to be in on the takeoff as well as to be in on the landing.

Mr. BELCHER. I might ask this question of Mr. Rostow. Is this change in policy of the State Department in which it asks for our advice on this to be also true in other matters, too?

Mr. ROSTOW. It might be. We are not feeling particularly jealous or threatened by any change, Mr. Belcher. We believe that the issues posed here are of such moment and on such a scale as to make it important that we act together—that is, the executive branch and the legislative branch, so that we can get a firm national opinion on these subjects in order that our program in India and in other countries will have a basis of common understanding and agreement.

I am only 4 months in the State Department, so I cannot tell you whether this is a change, but it certainly is a policy I enthusiastically

support. And I think that the Secretary and the Under Secretary do as well.

Mr. BELCHER. I am sure that this committee would like to be consulted on a lot of other matters as well as this one.

Mr. ROSTOW. We are always available to you, Congressman Belcher. Feel free to call on us at any time.

Mr. BELCHER. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Abernethy.

Mr. ABERNETHY. Is there authority in the act for the disposition of the surplus crops for some of it to be handled through the FAO operations?

Secretary FREEMAN. Yes, the world food program which is carried forward under the general auspices of the food and Agricultural Organization is one of the participants and a donor. It was last year and will be again this year in the tentative goal of 10 million tons which has been established as necessary for India.

Mr. ABERNETHY. You did not say that the FAO is a donor?

Secretary FREEMAN. I said the world food program, which is operated under the auspices of the FAO, and the United Nations is directly a donor, and also under their programs under FAO by way of technical assistance and such operating in India.

Mr. ABERNETHY. Does FAO by resolution attempt to encourage some countries to channel their foods toward countries such as in India?

Secretary FREEMAN. As you are well aware, FAO could not direct any constituent country to do anything.

Mr. ABERNETHY. I realize they could not. I used the wrong word. But to "suggest."

Secretary FREEMAN. Yes. The FAO very definitely does so.

Mr. ABERNETHY. Has it done so in regard to India?

Secretary FREEMAN. Yes, it has. It has been a party to these discussions, as it was a year ago, and has repeatedly urged its constituent members to cooperate in trying to meet this crisis.

Mr. ROSTOW. Could I add a word to that?

Mr. ABERNETHY. Yes.

Mr. ROSTOW. In the course of our trip, unfortunately, we were unable to meet Dr. Sen when we were in Rome, although we tried very hard to meet him. He was out of town. We have a most helpful and strong letter from him urging support for this general approach.

Mr. ABERNETHY. The letter went to whom?

Mr. ROSTOW. To me.

Mr. ABERNETHY. He is the head of FAO?

Mr. ROSTOW. Yes, he is.

Mr. ABERNETHY. Thank you.

What is the annual percentage population growth in India?

Secretary FREEMAN. It is $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 percent. No one is exactly sure what it is, but it is somewhere in that range.

Mr. ABERNETHY. Is it accelerating at a rather rapid pace?

Secretary FREEMAN. Again, it is rather hard to be sure. But the more people you get, particularly with a young population, why, the more quickly your population growth accelerates. On a percentage basis, the Indian population growth rate has been at about this level for some years.

Mr. ABERNETHY. Do they have any programs to control the growth?

Secretary FREEMAN. You are suggesting what?

Mr. ABERNETHY. To control the population growth?

Secretary FREEMAN. Yes, they do have programs. I think the statement made a moment ago would be pertinent to repeat: "The budget for these purposes in the coming year, as I recall, is four times the budget for this purpose in the last three years." I, personally, observed a strong effort being made in India in the population control direction.

Mr. ABERNETHY. Last year when we were considering Public Law 480 there were strong suggestions that the countries, particularly India, might give some consideration to the diversion of the use of their land from some purposes to the production of foods they so sorely need. Has there been any plan of the Indian Government to encourage its producers to divert land to the production of more food and more grain and more edible agricultural products?

Secretary FREEMAN. Yes. There have been detailed discussions in connection with this and consultations that are going forward in an effort to make some progress in that direction. As a matter of fact, this is a general policy. There are other countries, in addition to India, in which there is an effort to produce commercial commodities for which there may not be a good world market, and in some instances, countries are actually exporting food and fiber items at relatively low terms and buying food that is costing more. There is an overall effort to bring about a proper adjustment in this regard. I cannot at this time report to the committee any direct action taken. This is a very complex and involved matter, both politically and economically, but in the course of culminating the recent 2-million ton allocation, firm discussions were held about this and it is being given very careful attention at this very time.

Mr. ABERNETHY. Would you answer my question now. Has there been any progress made in India toward diverting its land in keeping with this suggestion?

Secretary FREEMAN. I do not think that anybody can give a very hard figure as to any land or amount of land that has been moved from one commodity to another since we last appeared before this committee. However, there have been very real efforts made in adjusting the price policy so that it would be more economic to produce food crops instead of producing some of the commercial crops, but it is too early to say whether that has had any direct effect.

Mr. ROSTOW. May I have a word on this?

Mr. ABERNETHY. Yes.

Mr. ROSTOW. Our latest figures on this show that the cotton acreage did decline in India.

Mr. ABERNETHY. They have been planting about 20 million acres. What are they now planting?

Mr. ROSTOW. I do not have the exact figures except to say that it is below last year's and it is now below the level of 10 years ago.

Mr. ABERNETHY. What is the source of that information?

Mr. ROSTOW. The allwise State Department, I guess. [Laughter.]

Mr. ABERNETHY. Where did the State Department get the figures?

Mr. ROSTOW. From the agricultural attachés.

Mr. ABERNETHY. Where did they get them?

Mr. ROSTOW. I suppose that they got them from their own observations.

Mr. ABERNETHY. Did they give you a figure—that is what I am interested in.

Mr. ROSTOW. $19\frac{1}{2}$, they tell me.

Mr. ABERNETHY. $19\frac{1}{2}$ what?

Mr. ROSTOW. $19\frac{1}{2}$ million acres.

Mr. ABERNETHY. That was a decline from how many acres over the previous year?

Mr. ROSTOW. About a million.

Mr. ABERNETHY. About 1 million?

Mr. ROSTOW. Yes.

Mr. ABERNETHY. That is progress.

Mr. ROSTOW. Yes. I recently discussed this with the Indian Ambassador and the Government of India has undertaken a fresh review of the situation.

Mr. ABERNETHY. They do not export much cotton.

Mr. ROSTOW. A good deal of the cotton is grown on unirrigated land, which is not suitable for either wheat or rice.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Rostow, our information is as shown in this brief "India, Its Agriculture," which we understand is about up to date. It says that about 19.6 million acres were harvested, not planted, but harvested—about 19.6 million of cotton were harvested in 1963 and 1964. It would seem to me that if there was that much harvested in 1963 and 1964 that maybe we have not got quite as much reduction there as we thought we had.

Mr. ABERNETHY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ROSTOW. I think perhaps the best thing to do, before we get confused in numbers, is to put in a clear statement in the record to supplement what has been said.

Mr. ABERNETHY. This is a matter of interest.

Mr. ROSTOW. Of course it is. We will very happy to produce one. (The information follows:)

COTTON ACREAGE

The table below indicates considerable fluctuation in cotton acreage. The last year for which we have final figures (1965/1966) represents a decrease of over 1 million acres from the 1964/65 acreage area. The same year's acreage is also lower than it was 10 years ago (by half a million acres). The 1966/67 preliminary estimates indicate an increase over 1965/1966 of half a million acres. These estimates, however, still indicate that acreage will be no higher than it was 10 years ago and slightly lower than the area under cotton as long ago as 1955/1956. Additionally, the 1966/67 estimates may not reflect fully recent Indian price policies; the final amount of cotton acreage may be somewhat less than the preliminary estimates due to these policies.

Area planted with cotton[In millions of acres]¹

1951-52	16.3
1952-53	15.8
1953-54	17.3
1954-55	18.5
1955-56	20.0
1956-57	19.8
1957-58	19.8
1958-59	19.8
1959-60	18.0
1960-61	18.8
1961-62	19.8
1962-63	19.3
1963-64	20.2
1964-65	20.4
1965-66	19.3
1966-67	19.8 ²

¹ Source: GOI Directorate of Economics and Statistics, Ministry of Food, Agriculture, Community Development and Cooperation as reported by the Office of the Agricultural Attaché, New Delhi.

² Estimated.

Mr. ABERNETHY. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Mr. Abernethy.

Mr. Teague has a question, but before he asks the question, may the Chairman make a statement at this time.

I will have to leave at 12:15 and I am going to ask Mr. Gathings to take over for me.

I hope that our guests will understand why I am leaving. We are very much obliged to you. I will appreciate your taking over, Mr. Gathings.

I recognize Mr. Teague.

Mr. TEAGUE of California. I have a question for Mr. Waters.

Last year before this committee we had a witness—I do not recall who he was—who made a rather startling statement. He testified that about 25 percent of the grains in storage in India were either contaminated or destroyed by rats. Now, that is a horrible situation.

Do you have any information on that problem and if you do, is that figure anywhere near correct, and has any progress been made along that line?

Mr. WATERS. Our surveys indicate that any such estimate is considerably high; that is, the losses to rodents. The studies we have indicate that the heaviest losses in the field, from rodents and rats destroying the growing grain, rather than that which is in storage. We have had careful studies made on the handling, for example, of U.S. grains, and find a low percentage of loss, perhaps because they are taken care of in central storage. There is no doubt that there is a loss in India in their own storage of supplies but it is doubtful if it becomes anywhere near that type of percentage.

We are working on this, however, continually, in consultation with the Indian Government. We have just developed a new research project with AID research funds, aimed toward the elimination of not only the rat problem in India, but the problem of other rodents in other areas of the world that are destroying food supplies. We think we are making some progress in India on this situation.

We think some of the public estimates made are far overdrawn, but there is no question that there is a loss to the growing crops.

Mr. TEAGUE of California. Do they have religious problems in some parts of the Indian population as to the destruction of rats as they do with other forms of life?

Mr. WATERS. This is true, but not as serious as it has been in the handling of other animals and other problems in India.

Mr. TEAGUE of California. Thank you very much.

Mr. GATHINGS (presiding). Mr. Jones of Missouri.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Secretary Freeman, as I read over just the resolution that we are discussing here this morning I have trouble trying to understand just exactly what you are trying to convey here.

We say, for instance, on page 2, that the Congress approves the participation of the United States and then down in line 13 it states: "encourage and assist the Government of India in achieving food self-sufficiency."

Well, now, there is no requirement of any kind in this resolution as to what extent we are making any demands or compelling India to do anything, is there?

Secretary FREEMAN. Well, I would not want to use words as strong as, say, "demand," or "compel," but you will note that on page 3 that it is clearly stated:

Under terms and conditions set forth in Public Law 480, as amended, in assisting the government of India to meet these needs.

It is my understanding—but I would defer to Congressman Dole on this—that this language was intended in effect to write into this resolution the self-help and other requirements that the Congress wrote into Public Law 480 a year ago.

Is that correct?

Mr. DOLE. Yes, that is the purpose of the language.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. What I am trying to get at is the fact that we talk about these things all of the time, but it has been my experience with these countries that unless we put some real demands in and say that we will do this if you will do that, that there has always been a reluctance on the part of the State Department to get tough and to require these things to be done.

Now, on page 3 you say:

The Congress endorses the President's policy of equal participation on the part of the United States with all other nations.

Well, I cannot find any place in the history since I have been up here where we have had equal participation with other countries, particularly in giving aid to India. It has always been that we have been furnishing about 80 percent of it or more.

Is that not correct?

Secretary FREEMAN. That is correct.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Let us find out. That is what I am trying to do. You said yes and I think that your statement says of the 10 million tons of foodstuffs which were furnished that the United States furnished about 8 million tons.

Secretary FREEMAN. That is correct. And that is what we had in mind. I would want the record to show at this point that, in the overall assistance to India—the consortium program that is involved in the total overall economic development program—the United States con-

tribution has been 42 percent in terms of the overall food component in the last year it was about 80 percent. This now is, shall we say, a new day in which this resolution and the President's message declared it to be the policy and the intent and the purpose, as Mr. Rostow has already outlined and I have made reference to, that other countries in addition to the United States should be major participations in this food program.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. I just think that we should set it out a little more positively than we are expressing it here, to get somewhere close to equal participation, taking all of the rest of them together, that they should equal as much as the United States. That is the thing that we have not done in the past. The same way in the United Nations. When I first came here, the United States was paying over 50 percent of all the cost of operating the United Nations.

We have passed laws in the Congress saying that it should be limited to 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ percent, but we get into all of these special programs, and then the last report I had is that we are contributing more than 40 percent of the aid to the operations of the United Nations.

We are a country paying 40 percent of the load and that is getting pretty heavy. And we are going to continue to do it until we put some real demands on what these other countries are going to be required to do. I think we have to do that.

Then down here, in the last—or in the next to the last paragraph—about the Congress recommends, and so forth, it states, "Further, the Congress recommends, on the basis of estimates now available, that the United States provide an additional amount of food grain not to exceed three million tons at an estimated cost of \$190 million as the U.S. share toward meeting the India food deficit, provided it is appropriately matched, and specifically extends its support to the allocation of approximately \$190 million of funds," et cetera. What does that mean?

Secretary FREEMAN. I think that means, as was made clear in the earlier paragraph, that there will be an equal amount made available by the other countries of the world.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. An equal amount?

Mr. DOLE. Will you yield?

Secretary FREEMAN. The language of this paragraph.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. I know what it says there.

Secretary FREEMAN. And that means that these 3 million tons, which I referred to in the second paragraph, should be matched by an equivalent amount from other countries.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. That is, additional—3 million tons?

Secretary FREEMAN. That is correct.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. And we are still going to provide this other part, up to what percentage?

Secretary FREEMAN. The other part that has been provided up to this point, is presented in connection with other countries; with what they have already put in this calendar year, the—well, let me see—the United States would have put in 2.9 million tons, and, in total, I expect, the other countries have put in short of 1 million tons.

It would be that the United States has put in, roughly, 80 percent or more so far this calendar year. But what is now taking place, consistent with the thrust of your remarks, is that there is now an

effort to try to get other countries to match the U.S. contribution of an estimated 3 million tons with, roughly, that amount from other nations to meet the needs for the current calendar year.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. I do not like to be repetitious here, but as Mr. Abernathy stated a minute ago, about using some of this acreage that has been used for cotton production—should be used for other products. What they do is that they are using land for the production of a very limited supply of cotton, much of which could be used in the production of food.

They are not going to use it unless we put some requirement in, along with the aid that we are going to continue to give them, that they start doing something to help themselves. We are going to have to get a little tougher than we have been in the past to get this done, because my experience in India has been this: that a lot of people at the top level are the ones that the State Department and most of our Government officials contact—I am not talking about the poor people and the starving people—but these people in the top jobs. They have the idea that if India only became an industrial nation—and I have had people in government and business people tell me this: “If you will just give us the money to build us a steel plant, we can make enough money so that we can buy all of your food and supply our food needs from you or some other country.”

We have got to do something to change that attitude on the part of the Indian Government and the people in high places in India, that they can buy this food. They are going to have to go through the evolutionary process that we went through here in the United States.

They are going to have to start trying to become self-sufficient in producing food for themselves before they get into this other area.

These resolutions read very fine, showing our great generosity and all of that, but it is time that we became practical about this thing.

Secretary FREEMAN. Let me just say to you, Congressman Jones, that we are getting practical about this thing—for instance, some of the actions taken by India, that I tried to spell out in my testimony.

Secondly, I think that this resolution which was submitted to this committee by the chairman and by Mr. Dole specifically had in mind, as was mentioned earlier, that the requirements of Public Law 480 on self-help are a part of the terms and conditions under which food is going to be made available to India. I think that is crystal clear. And we could not be more emphatic and could not be more pointed, we could not be much more definite in connection with it than we have been.

And the Indian Government and the Indians have responded very, very well in the last year.

You are absolutely correct. I have had the same experience as you have had with the people in and out of the Indian Government and in high places who have felt that agriculture was not really important, but I think that if you visited India today you would find that has changed almost 100 degrees. Today, in terms of their total overall economic development, agriculture is receiving top priority, and that is without question.

So I feel much encouraged by this. And I can assure you that it is our policy to carry out the will of Congress and clearly and succinctly to state the self-requirements of Public Law 480.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. The last resolution providing money for this—I am not going to go into that now.

Secretary FREEMAN. May I please say this?

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Before I close, I want to say this, that I think with all due respect to Mr. Rostow, where he said a few minutes ago about getting all of this information about agriculture, I want agriculture information that comes from the Department of Agriculture. We have competent attachés in these countries. I want to see that they work and are given ample opportunity to do the service that was intended that they perform.

We had some statements from the State Department some time ago, and they were wrong. We hope that the Department of Agriculture, the able Secretary, will insist that his men look after agriculture and let the State Department look after the social affairs over there.

Thank you.

Mr. GATHINGS. Mrs. May.

Mrs. MAY. Mr. Secretary, do you have any objection to the inclusion of a provision in this resolution which would specifically encourage more use of food products such as flour and bulgur and other items of like kind?

Secretary FREEMAN. I think that this would depend upon the exact language, Mrs. May. I do not think it would add to the resolution, because we are attempting to use processed American foods wherever we can do so.

I would hope that there would not be put in this resolution anything that would indicate to the contrary or would, in effect, hamper us in doing so, because, as I say, we do want to use processed foods wherever that is possible. But in some instances it is simply not practical, and in those cases we would have to use our best judgment.

Mrs. MAY. But you know, the members of the committee who drew up this resolution, the Chairman and Congressman Dole, and Senator Miller, did recommend this as a part of their report. Do I understand that if it were worded with that direction—wording something along the line specifically to encourage more use of processed products—you would be willing to consider its inclusion?

Secretary FREEMAN. No objection to that, because we certainly are trying to follow that policy wherever it is practicable.

Mrs. MAY. Thank you very much.

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Purcell.

Mr. PURCELL. I have no questions. Thank you.

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Dole.

Mr. DOLE. I will just take a minute. I want to reemphasize as Mr. Jones stated earlier—that this is the intent, I believe, of the Department of Agriculture and, certainly, those who went over there, that we do adopt a different policy, and that there has been a change in direction with reference to helping India to become self-sufficient.

In section 109(a) of the Food for Peace Act last year sets forth a total of nine different items to be used in negotiating with any country receiving aid under that title.

Secondly, I trust every one of the committee understands that this resolution, really, has no binding effect on anyone. Its purpose is, and I agree with the purpose, to ask the consent of the Congress about this very expansive and very sensitive and expensive program.

In the last calendar year aid from all sources to India approximated \$1 billion. That is a large outlay of funds, and perhaps the President thought Members of Congress might want to respond to that.

I might ask a question of Mr. Rostow. He mentioned it briefly, with reference to family planning.

I was impressed with what they are doing with family planning. We visited some places and saw some of these programs. Do you feel they are being realistic in this program, that they can keep ahead of the population growth that Mr. Abernathy mentioned earlier—have they the resources available and are there some positive results in this program?

Their projection is that by 1972 they will have reduced the growth rate to 1.5 percent, which I do not feel was very realistic. Are you convinced that it is moving in that direction?

Secretary Rostow. They are moving in that direction, I will say that. Whether they will reach any such goal, I am not, of course, certain. And I share some of your doubts. We talked about it very intensively when we were there, and we reviewed some of the plans and the statistics. There was no doubt that the effort has been multiplied, and multiplied again, in this vital field and they are considering even more drastic legislation, which has not yet been passed, of a kind which has been so successful in Japan.

When I came back, I talked to some of our own experts, both in government and outside of government, and I think that I can report to you that these men who keep a very close watch on the situation in India, who are in touch with the people, not only in the villages but out in the fields, are encouraged, definitely encouraged, not only by the magnitude of the effort being made, but by the real progress that is being achieved.

I think it is now recognized as fundamental to achieving their goals of self-sufficiency in agriculture and it will proceed with increasing vigor.

Mr. DOLE. I know that Mrs. Ghandhi recognized this.

Secondly, there has been some question about the \$25 million provision in reference to Care. This is the same \$25 million program that has been pending for some time. Is that correct?

Secretary Rostow. Yes.

Mr. DOLE. It is not a different \$25 million program, is it?

Secretary Rostow. No, sir; you are quite correct.

Mr. DOLE. Do you anticipate early approval? It has to be approved by the Congress.

Secretary Rostow. The message made it clear that it was a part of the overall program which is being submitted for consideration by the Congress.

Mr. DOLE. And, thirdly, I did talk to cotton farmers producing cotton, and there is an effort to reduce production. I also was told that much of the land on which cotton is raised is not suitable for much else, and that they are a net importer of cotton.

I was concerned with the fact that there is a great need for technical assistance. There is a provision in the Food for Peace Act called the farmer-to-farmer program, which I hope can be implemented soon with the cooperation of AID and the Peace Corps.

A study on implementing it is now being made. India seems to be a good country in which to implement the farmer-to-farmer program.

We visited two or three farm-type meetings, and the first thing mentioned would be the Rockefeller and Ford Foundation programs which offered technical assistance.

Such a program would be much less expensive in the long run and would help people to help themselves.

Secretary ROSTOW. I think perhaps Secretary Freeman would wish to comment on the details of that.

Secretary FREEMAN. I am familiar with this. We have discussed it and have had a very thorough review and examination of alternative ways to proceed under this program that is currently underway. And also, while that takes place, there has been a very definite increase in the technical assistance program in India.

There has been almost a doubling of the Peace Corps members in India, with a very strong emphasis on agriculture. So not only is there a steady improvement, but some action has been taken along these lines as well.

Mr. DOLE. I yield.

Mr. GATHINGS. The bells have rung. They are calling the roll on the floor of the House. There are several people who want to get into this colloquy.

Mr. O'Neal, you are next.

Mr. O'NEAL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I would like to get back to Mr. Jones' line of questioning, because he asked two questions that I specifically had in mind asking, myself.

Secretary Freeman, I would certainly get the impression from the use of the word "equal" in line three, on page 3, and the word "match" on line 13, that we do not intend to send anything to India until and unless the consortium countries first send, at least, an equal amount.

Did I understand that is what your answer was to Mr. Jones' question a minute ago? I have directed that question to the Secretary of Agriculture.

Secretary FREEMAN. Well, it is clear here that it is the President's purpose, and this resolution sets down quite clearly that it is the intent of the Congress as well, that we should be matched by other countries on a proportionate level in meeting the needs and in making available the additional 3 million tons.

Mr. O'NEAL. That we should be?

Secretary FREEMAN. Correct.

Mr. O'NEAL. Now, is this a condition precedent of our action?

Secretary FREEMAN. This language, I suppose, implicitly acknowledges that there could well be contingencies which could not be foreseen. It has been drafted in this fashion and, again, I would refer to Congressman Dole—it has been drafted in such a fashion as to state emphatically and as strongly as we can that the United States will insist upon other countries sharing this burden on a proportionate basis. But, I agree that it does leave just a little crack here in the event there are contingencies that we do not foresee.

Mr. O'NEAL. In other words, it is not a condition precedent—we do not require that these other countries do what we hope they will do before we send ours?

Secretary FREEMAN. Yes, we have required that they do so. We have gone to the consortium, which can be commented upon in more

detail by Secretary Rostow, with that very definitely in mind. But I think the Congressmen who drafted this resolution recognized, also, that between now and a year from now many things could happen.

Mr. O'NEAL. Would you agree or disagree that an ordinary reader would get the impression that we would not send anything unless it was matched with an equal amount that we are sending; that is, the language of this resolution?

Secretary FREEMAN. That is the purpose and the intent of this resolution, that it should be made clear to other countries, and that is why this trip was made. And that is why the discussions are going to take place under the consortium that additional amounts by the United States should be matched by other countries, and will be matched by other countries.

Mr. DOLE. Will you yield?

Mr. O'NEAL. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOLE. I might point out that it was very difficult to word this section. One contingency we were concerned about was that, even despite every effort to get other countries to match, if there should be a failure from other countries then the choice is starvation on the one hand, or, at least, hunger; and supplying more food.

I feel there should be enough of an option so that additional food could be supplied. It was the intent of the drafters that it read just as it does, with this one exception, that if other countries cannot do it, are we going to turn your back on the people of India? We say, "No."

Mr. O'NEAL. I think the gentleman has answered the question.

Mr. GATHINGS. The chairman is not here. I do not know what he would want to do, but there are several people who want to ask one or two or three questions each. I wonder just when this could be done.

There is a meeting at 2 o'clock, I believe. Is that right?

Mr. RESNICK. I just have a very brief question.

Mr. GATHINGS. It would be fine if we could go ahead.

Mr. WAMPLER. Would it be possible for us to submit our questions in writing, because I have some very serious reservations about this resolution and I would like to have some answers. I could not support it as it is now.

Mr. GATHINGS. You can ask the questions by writing them out or in open session.

Mr. Miller has been wanting to get recognition, too. I know that both of these gentlemen want to ask questions.

Mr. RESNICK. I have a very brief one, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. GATHINGS. Go ahead.

Mr. RESNICK. First, I would like to commend you on a very fine statement. I think you have answered most of the questions I had in mind. I will support the resolution to the fullest.

The question I have is this: in your statement you point up the necessity of self-sufficiency, getting India to grow enough food by itself.

Has any thought been given to the idea of having American know-how actually going in there and operating in India, rather than just advising? Just as we have Americans with American know-how going in and operating steel mills, fertilizer plants and the like. I think we should develop a way to have the American farmer, too, go out

there and show them how to actually operate the land, on a larger scale with modern, efficient equipment, just as we do it here.

Secretary FREEMAN. Some. First of all, in connection with American know-how in such things as fertilizer manufacturing, great efforts have been made to involve American capital and know-how. In connection with Americans going in and operating farms, actually producing food as such, some thought has been given to this, but no practical method of actually doing this has been evolved.

There is almost no unused land in India. But, as I say, the study of a possible combination here that could harness some productive know-how in combination with the practices by the landowners and the Government is under study, but no practical means of doing this has yet surfaced.

Secretary ROSTOW. I might add, Congressman Resnick, that private groups, church groups, university groups from many countries, are functioning in India, both as teachers and in running model farms which are connected with training programs.

There are a variety of such enterprises in different parts of India. Of course, they have considerable impact on the practices in the areas in which they function.

Mr. RESNICK. What concerns me very often is that we have all of these beautiful plans and everything else, but we still wind up with the man with a bullock and a wooden plow. It just seems to me that if some way could be devised whereby Americans could go in there, and not only operate model farms, but operate some reasonably sized acreage to produce this food efficiently on a large scale, in order to show how it can be done, that that would be a great step forward.

I think that this would be a very fruitful approach and the direction to look.

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Wampler and several of the other gentlemen have questions which they will write out and they will be submitted to you gentlemen for your answers. Without objection they will be made a part of the record at this point.

(The material referred to follows:)

QUESTIONS SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE BY CONGRESSMAN
ROBERT DOLE AND ANSWERS THERETO

Q. How will you enforce the "self-help" criteria in the states of Kerala and West Bengal where Communist coalitions took over as a result of the election?

A. The self-help provisions contained in the current PL 480 agreement with the Government of India apply to the country as a whole and are to be implemented by the Central Government wherever applicable.

The aim of self-help is to increase domestic food production in order to eliminate or alleviate food shortages. It is unlikely that any state or local governments regardless of political convictions, as in the case of Kerala or West Bengal, could refuse to cooperate in view of the acuteness of the Indian food problem.

Q. Do you anticipate any special difficulties in these States?

A. On the basis of the above assumption we would say that we do not anticipate any special difficulties in these States.

Q. Do you anticipate any difficulty in enforcing the "Findley amendment" in PL 480 in regard to trade with North Viet Nam and Cuba? Does the Administration make a distinction between commerce by governments and commerce by individuals or non-governmental institutions with Cuba and North Viet Nam in the enforcement of the "Findley amendment" in PL 480?

A. It is anticipated that no difficulty will be encountered in enforcing the "Findley Amendment."

No case has yet arisen under the new PL 480 legislation that involves the question raised by the Findley Amendment with regard to the distinction be-

tween commerce by government and commerce by individuals or non-governmental institutions with Cuba and North Viet Nam.

Q. Would you object to a legislative direction to finance a "cattle and other livestock count" in India to be paid for in rupees in order to obtain an accurate estimate of the number of such animals and their economic significance?

A. An animal census was conducted by the Government of India in 1966, however, the results have not yet been made available.

QUESTION SUBMITTED TO SECRETARY FREEMAN BY CONGRESSMAN DE LA GARZA

Mr. Secretary, in your statement you stated that some of the grain was late in moving due to the over crowded condition of some of the Gulf ports. I have information from the Port of Brownsville that they felt more of the grain could have been shipped from that Port and that they have ample facilities to take care of same. Would you mind stating for the record if this is so and why more grain has not been shipped from the Port of Brownsville?

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
Washington, D.C., March 3, 1967.

HON. ELIGIO DE LA GARZA,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: This is in reply to your request of February 28, 1967, for information concerning the use of the port terminal facilities at Brownsville, Texas.

Export sales of grain to India and other nations are made by the private export trade. The exporters purchase most of the grain to be exported from private trade sources. Although sizeable quantities have been purchased from the Commodity Credit Corporation in the past, the quantities coming from CCC stocks are rapidly diminishing. Effective March 1 CCC stocks of wheat are no longer available for export sale except very limited quantities at the West Coast.

Private exporters usually utilize port facilities owned or leased, rather than public owned elevators such as the Port Brownsville Public Elevator. This, of course, is their prerogative and has resulted in occasional crowding at some ports in the Gulf.

Brownsville, Texas, being 140 miles south of Corpus Christi, does not have the benefit of rail export rates that permit it to compete with other Gulf ports for export grain from northern origins. As a result, the main source of grain for the Brownsville elevator is the Coastal Bend area. Sizeable quantities of grain sorghum produced in this area are normally trucked to Brownsville.

If you have not already heard, you will be interested to learn that of the 2,000,000 metric ton grain movements recently announced for India, approximately 475,000 metric tons of hard red winter wheat and 800,000 metric tons of grain sorghums are to be programmed for export from Gulf ports.

Sincerely yours,

ORVILLE L. FREEMAN.

MR. GATHINGS. Mr. Goodling is next.

MR. GOODLING. On page 6 of your statement you enumerated some of the countries that are assisting in feeding India, and you say there will be a 5.7 million ton deficit.

Just recently—in fact, the 21st of February of this year—there was an editorial in the Chicago Tribune, entitled "Food for Peace—or Food for Rats?"

With your permission, I would like to insert this into the record.

MR. GATHINGS. Without objection, it will be made a part of the record at this point.

(The editorial above-referred to, follows:)

[From the Chicago Tribune, Feb. 21, 1967]

FOOD FOR PEACE—OR FOOD FOR RATS?

President Johnson recently proposed a 10-nation consortium under chairmanship of the World Bank to help supply India's continuing critical need for food. He estimated the cost of filling that country's 10 million ton food deficit at 725

million dollars. Our own once vast food surpluses have been depleted to the point where we must ask other developed countries to increase their food aid, but even so we plan to send 6.6 million tons of grain to India this year under the food for peace program.

Of more than passing interest, then, are some remarks which P. C. Sen, chief minister of West Bengal state, made the other day at a Calcutta conference on rodent control. He appealed to his countrymen, millions of whom are hungry if not near starvation, to destroy hundreds of millions of rats that are ravaging India's inadequate grain supplies. Estimates place India's rat population as high as 5 billion, or 10 times the human population, and grain losses at up to 10 to 12 per cent of the annual crop, or more than 8 million tons.

"Rats should not be allowed to fatten while men go hungry," Sen said. While to western minds this should be so obvious that it need not be stated, the problem is considerably more complex in India, where an exaggerated respect for animal life is so widespread that the idea of killing even rats is offensive to large numbers of people. Perhaps that is why Sen suggested the rats could be reduced by catching them and injecting them with hormones to space out their litters or by feeding them vitamin-deficient food to impair their fertility.

He did suggest, however, the rats also could be gassed in their holes. Genda Singh, minister of agriculture in Uttar Pradesh state, suggested the rats could be destroyed and the food supply increased at the same time when he appealed to his countrymen to eat rats, which he said are rich in protein.

India's problems of food shortages and rats certainly are not new. We in this country continue to hear disturbing reports that the Indian government is unable or unwilling to move some of the bumper crops in its southern states to the northern drouth stricken areas, that it has been preoccupied with the recent election campaign while food problems were neglected, that government red tape has kept the agricultural economy on dead center, and so on.

What is new is that the United States no longer is in a position to supply India with virtually unlimited supplies of food, and there is serious question whether other countries can or will make up the deficit. Up to now our efforts to encourage Indian leaders to increase their own food production seem to have brought few more tangible results than displays of pique and criticism in New Delhi over what the Indians regard as "pressure" to get them to change some of their policies. Our government denies using pressure, but it would like India to grant concessions to foreign investors in the fertilizer industry, lift some strangling controls on the economy, liberalize imports, and take other steps to increase its food supply.

The fact is that world food supplies are failing to keep pace with the alarming increase in world population. Under these circumstances, and with rats eating the equivalent of four-fifths of India's food deficit, the Indian leaders ought to wake up to the fact that the developed countries cannot long continue to pour food down ratholes.

Mr. GOODLING. I would like to read one paragraph hurriedly:

Of more than passing interest, then, are some remarks which P. C. Sen, Chief Minister of West Bengal State, made the other day at a Calcutta conference on rodent control. He appealed to his countrymen, millions of whom are hungry, if not near starvation, to destroy hundreds of millions of rats that are ravaging India's inadequate grain supplies. Estimates place Indian's rat population as high as five billion, or 10 times the human population, and grain losses at up to 10 to 12 percent of the annual crop, or more than eight million tons.

Mr. Secretary, it appears to me that one of our most important programs for India would be a program of rodent control. On my own farm, if there is one rat, I am going to try to get rid of that rat, because I know how prolific they are and how destructive they can be. And I do not like them—I do not even like to see one.

What, if anything, are we doing along this line? Is that important, or is it not?

Secretary FREEMAN. It is important. There is a rodent control program that is being carried forward very vigorously by the Indian Government, to which we contribute through technical assistance and chemical inputs.

I would, certainly, second what you have said. I think that program can, and should be, improved. I would want the record to show, however, that I think very little, indeed, of our grain food to India is subject to destruction by rodents. The newest go-down storage places are used.

The movement of this grain to human consumption is rather rapid, and the amount of loss from that point of view is relatively limited. But I do not mean for a moment to say that we should tolerate the loss.

Mr. GOODLING. As you have just said, I do not believe it is important whose food is being destroyed; so long as we know that it is being destroyed. The thing we need to do is destroy more rats.

Secretary FREEMAN. I quite agree. I made that point only to emphasize that it can be more strictly protected. A program to go out to some 60 million individual farms, in units which are very small, would be more difficult to accomplish.

Mr. GOODLING. You do say that we have a program of rodent control in India?

Secretary FREEMAN. We do have a program of rodent control in India; most emphatically, yes.

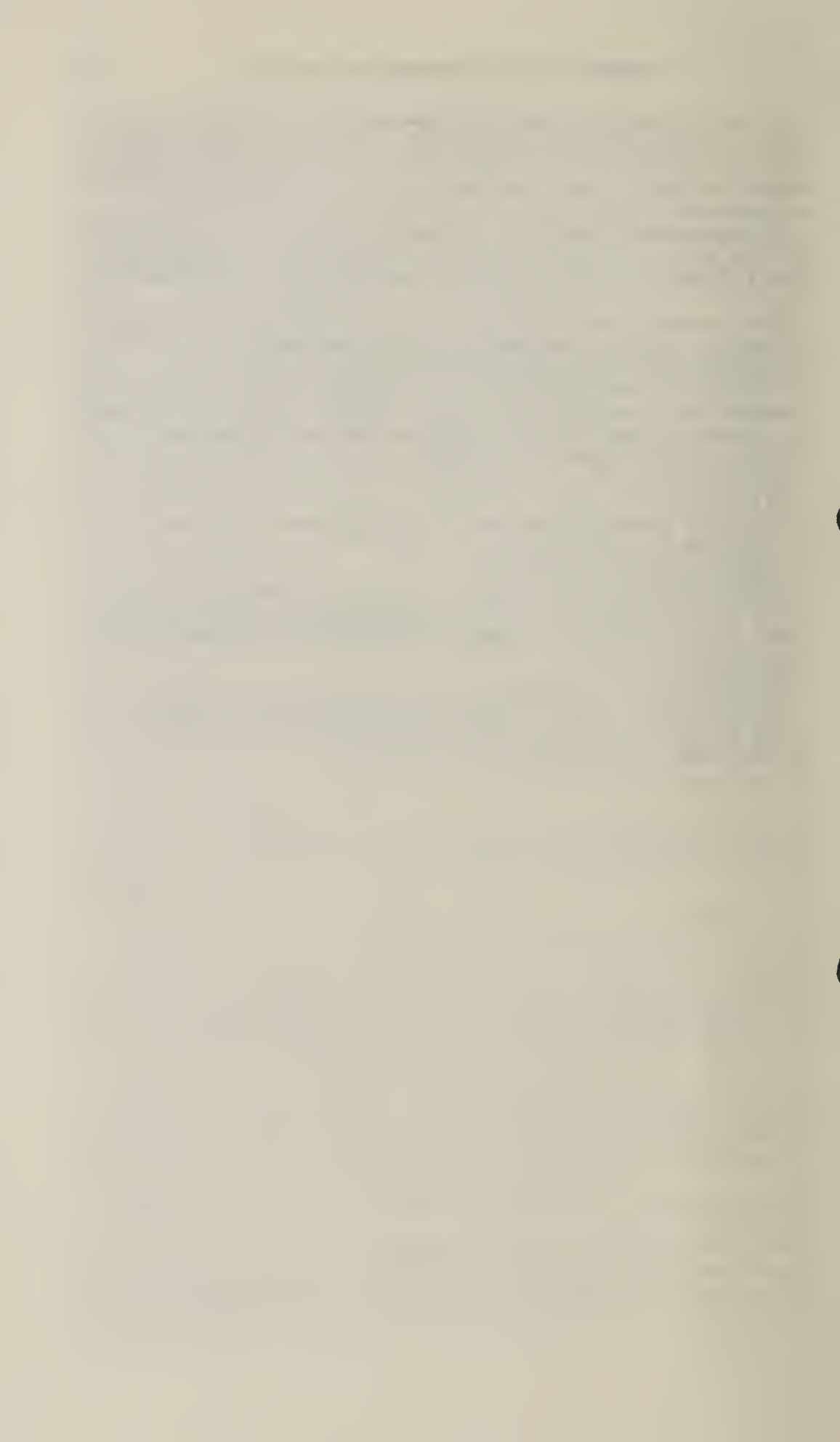
Mr. GOODLING. Is it effective?

Secretary FREEMAN. It is not as effective as it should be, like some other programs in India, but it is becoming increasingly more effective. And the volume of inputs, of both materials and people, is being increased.

Mr. GOODLING. Thank you.

Mr. GATHINGS. We will adjourn until 10:30 in the morning.

(Whereupon, at 12:30 p.m., the committee adjourned, to reconvene at 10:30 a.m., Wednesday, March 1, 1967.)



EMERGENCY FOOD ASSISTANCE TO INDIA

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 1, 1967

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE,
Washington, D.C.

The committee met, pursuant to recess, at 10:30 a.m., in room 1301, Longworth House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Hon. W. R. Poage (chairman) presiding.

Present: Representatives Poage (presiding), Gathings, Abernethy, Abbitt, Jones of Missouri, Purcell, O'Neal, de la Garza, Vigorito, Jones of North Carolina, Dow, Montgomery, Brasco, Stuckey, Rarick, Belcher, Teague, Dole, Hansen, Wampler, Goodling, Miller, Burke, Mathias, Mayne, Zwach, Kleppe and Price.

Also present: Christine S. Gallagher, clerk; Hyde H. Murray, assistant counsel; and Fowler C. West, assistant staff consultant.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will please come to order.

The first witness today will be Congressman Ottinger of New York. I am sorry that we could not reach you yesterday, Mr. Ottinger. We are very much obliged to you for having remained with us. We are delighted to hear from you now.

STATEMENT OF HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER, REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK

Mr. OTTINGER. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

I am pleased to have this opportunity to appear before the Committee on Agriculture in support of a desperately needed program of food assistance to India during the balance of 1967. I want to commend the chairman and the gentleman from Kansas, Mr. Dole, for a thoughtful and keen analysis of the situation based upon their special trip to India last December at the request of the President.

I will not take the committee's valuable time in a lengthy analysis of the food crisis in India, for it has firsthand reports from its members and detailed information both from the administration and the government of India. I would simply like to make these essential points:

1. India has not recovered from the drought of 1965 which held food grain production to 72 million tons, a drop of 16 million from the previous year. Not only was much of India's food reserve used up in 1966, but a dry spell in the northern and central States sharply curtailed current production to the point where the original estimate of 90 million tons has been reduced to about 79 million. Those figures tell a bleak story, especially when we consider that India's population is increasing at the rate of 12 million a year.

2. India has taken positive steps to increase agricultural production, and while these measures represents only a start, they stand as solid evidence that the Government of India is very much aware of the food crises and is prepared to meet it. I would like to present for the record a letter I received from the Department of Agriculture in response to my request for a report it had made on self-help measures undertaken by India. It is significant that the findings of our USDA are in substantial agreement with those of the World Bank, which made a similar study.

3. It is obvious that neither India's self-help measures to increase agricultural productivity nor her efforts to reduce population growth will have a total effect in the next decade.

4. India has sought and received assistance from nations other than the United States, and has not relied merely on grants of food grains from these countries, but has purchased wheat and other grains from the United States and Australia.

These factors were given full recognition by President Johnson in his message to Congress on February 2.

I am sure that most of the Congress as well as most Americans join me in endorsing the President's proposals for a joint approach by a consortium of have countries in helping India meet her food problems. Certainly, if the have nations are to assure that the population explosion in the have not nations doesn't result in massive starvation, the cooperation of all have nations will be needed. The United States cannot and should not bear the burden alone.

I support the President's proposals for sharing the food-deficit burdens, but with the understanding that the President does not intend to lock in the U.S. position to such an extent that starvation of Indian children becomes the principal bargaining tool to obtain contributions from other have countries. I am sure it could not be the President's intention to create this unfortunate situation either by setting maximum levels of U.S. food contributions unrealistically low or by applying a rigid requirement that the United States will not contribute more food than is matched by other consortium nations. I suspect, however, that the language of the resolution (H.J. Res. 262) read literally, might create such rigidities.

I call your attention to that portion of the resolution which states that the Congress endorses the President's policy of "equal" participation on the part of the United States with all other nations in helping India to meet its food needs, and also to the ceiling of 3 million tons of food grain the United States is authorized to provide, over and above the 3.6 million tons already committed.

Assuming the other nations in the India-aid consortium organized by the World Bank match our 3-million-ton commitment—an assumption which may not be justified—the total outside aid to India in 1967 would amount only to 9.6 million tons of food grain, which is below even the most conservative estimate of the amount India must import this year. Last August, the Indian Government drew up an import program calling for 10 million tons of food grain for the period from November 1966 to December 1967, but this was based on expectations for a normal crop year in which production would exceed 80 million tons. It is obvious now that India's food grain production will not reach 80 million. In view of this, I fear that the limitations on the

U.S. commitment in House Joint Resolution 262 may be grossly unrealistic.

As you know, last year India required some 11 million tons of imported food grains, and the United States had to contribute 8 million tons of that importation.

Of equal importance is the highly restrictive language one finds in the resolution with respect to "equal" sharing of India's food burden. By insisting on "equal" participation in meeting India's food needs, do we intend that the United States be relieved of its obligations should the consortium nations be unable or unwilling to contribute 3 million tons of grain—assuming just a 6-million-ton shortage? I'm afraid such a construction may be placed on the language in the resolution, both here at home and abroad, and this could mean that the United States is backing itself into a corner—a very tight one at that—from which it will be most embarrassing to extricate itself. Certainly the administration is making it exceedingly difficult for itself to come back to Congress and, in the face of the explicit language of this resolution, request a contribution of more than half of India's needs.

Now, we really ought to face these questions: What are we going to do if, in fact, the other consortium nations do not contribute a full one-half of what is expected and what are we going to do, if the needs for India exceed the 3 million tons of grain authorized in this resolution?

I agree with the President that equal sharing in India's food needs is a desirable goal, but we should not let our aspirations cloud the realities of the situation. We must allow ourselves sufficient flexibility in the event the crisis in India exceeds current expectations and in the event our goal of equal participation is not attained.

I urge, therefore, that the committee substitute in line 1 on page 3 of House Joint Resolution 262 for the word "equal" such a word as "appropriate" or "equitable." Let us by all means strive for equal participation, but let us not box ourselves into an almost impossible position if this cannot be accomplished.

This morning at the State Department briefing for Congressmen I asked Under Secretary Eugene Rostow the question: "What are the administration's intentions with respect to these limitations?" And he stated that there was no intention to freeze in either the limitations of 3 million tons or an absolute requirement of equal participation. I asked him in view of that would be object to amending the resolution to reflect this and would it be all right if I made that representation before the committee. He said that would be perfectly in accord with the administration's thinking.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, I urge this committee to examine closely the administration's handling of a \$25 million allocation in emergency food relief for distribution by CARE and other American voluntary agencies. These funds were sought last autumn and the administration knew at that time that they were urgently needed to avert widespread starvation among some 10 million children in the States of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. Although approval of this grant was fully within the administration's authority under Public Law 480, as amended, action on it has been delayed for 4 full months and now we apparently find these funds included in House Joint Resolution 262, and for reasons best known to the administration. In my view,

this is a poor way to handle emergency food relief, for our delay could be unfortunately interpreted by many as playing politics with the lives of children.

What puzzles me as well is that in the third paragraph of House Joint Resolution 262 we find an assertion that the United States has already committed \$25 million in emergency food relief for distribution through CARE and other American voluntary agencies. The final paragraph of the resolution recommends that the President allocate an additional \$25 million for this purpose. Both the Agency for International Development and the Bureau of the Budget assure me that the resolution is concerned with only one \$25 million allocation. If this is so, the resolution could be amended to make this clear. However, in view of the extended delay in making this grant and the strong possibility that the food aid authorized in this resolution will be inadequate to India's needs, I urge that the resolution be amended to authorize an additional \$25 million in emergency food relief on a contingency basis.

I know that many of you on the committee are aware of these problems and are sympathetic to their solution. You have done an outstanding job in dealing with them in a way that is humane and fair. You have taken the trouble to see India's problems and her efforts at first hand.

I know that you share with me the conviction that the food assistance we give to India is not just a humane act of generosity. It is vitally in our own national interest to help see to it that starvation does not tear asunder the largest free democracy in the Eastern World. India is already under great stress. We dare not add to her burdens at this critical time in her history. We dare not place ourselves in the position that "for lack of a nail, the kingdom was lost." Thank you.

And I ask, at this point, permission to have inserted into the record the letter I received from the Department of Agriculture, Office of the Secretary, dated February 3, 1967, with respect to the subject of India's self-help measures.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it will be made a part of the record at this point.

(The letter dated February 3, 1967, follows:)

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, February 3, 1967.

HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. OTTINGER: Thank you for your letter of January 27 in which you request a copy of a report to the Department of Agriculture by Martin E. Abel on self-help measures undertaken by India.

A formal report evaluating agricultural self-help measures in India was not prepared. However, the findings of the Department of Agriculture team can be summarized as follows:

Starting in late 1965 the Government of India began to place increasing emphasis on agricultural development. The food crises of the past few years made it unmistakably clear to India's leaders that agriculture, among all the development objectives, had to receive top priority. Very significant changes have occurred in India's agricultural policies and the commitment of resources to agriculture. Public investment scheduled for agriculture during the Fourth Five-Year Plan will be more than double that the Third Plan. Agriculture is second

only to national defense in the Fourth Plan. Accelerated investments in agriculture have already begun to take place. Budget expenditures for agriculture during 1966-67 are 43 percent above the 1965-66 level. In addition to the Fourth Five-Year Plan the Indian Government has developed an annual subplan which will permit early evaluations of performance. This procedure introduces a new degree of flexibility in adjusting resource allocations within agriculture to ensure that production targets are met.

Since 1964, the Indian Government has been providing food grain producers minimum price support at levels sufficient to encourage greater production.

In 1964, also, the India Parliament created a statutory agency for the purpose of making the price support schedule effective. This agency, called the Food Corporation of India, was charged with two additional responsibilities: To help insure equitable distribution of food among consumers at reasonable prices by gaining a commanding position in the market through purchase, storage, and movement, and to build up gradually a national food reserve.

The tight food grain situation of the past two years has kept market prices well above support prices, thus minimizing the need of the Food Corporation to support prices. The Food Corporation has gradually taken over the procurement responsibility of other Center agencies and, this year, the Food Corporation will be the procurement agent for almost all State governments. Eventually it will operate over the entire country. In a further step, a meeting of state and central government leaders in November, 1966, agreed that a national food budget system should be immediately developed to facilitate greater sharing between surplus and deficit states. The staff work for the food budget is nearing completion and the budget is expected to be announced in March.

The Indian Government took a number of steps in 1966 to stimulate investment in fertilizer production capacity and to ensure sufficient imports of fertilizer to meet established targets for total fertilizer availability.

India has taken the following steps to improve the investment climate for the manufacture of fertilizer in the private sector: (a) All geographic constraints on fertilizer marketing within each state have been removed, and New Delhi plans to remove constraints on interstate movement as soon as supplies permit. (b) All private manufacturers of fertilizer who commit themselves to invest in India prior to March 1, 1967, will be allowed freely to price and distribute their products, with no government regulations. (c) Simplified and streamlined procedures for approving and licensing foreign private investment in the manufacture of fertilizer have been put into effect and, together with new policies on foreign private investment (e.g., acceptance of management control by the foreign collaborator), have succeeded in speeding negotiations with investors already underway and in stimulating proposals from other foreign firms. (d) In allocating foreign exchange, top priority has been given to fertilizers, including fertilizer for seeding programs of new plants, fertilizer raw materials and spare parts for fertilizer plants. (Foreign exchange allocations for fertilizer in 1965/66 were \$163 million and in the current year it is \$268 million.)

Substantial progress has been made to increase the operating efficiency of fertilizer plants in the public sector. As a percent of capacity, production has been raised from 63 percent in 1965 to an estimated 80 percent in 1966. The principal reasons for operation of plants at low levels of capacity were a lack of raw materials, a shortage of spare parts, and poorly designed plants. Indian efforts to date have improved the situation on all these fronts. Steps are also being taken to reduce the dependence upon sulphur—in short supply world around—in the manufacture of fertilizer in India and to develop India's pyrite deposits which can meet the entire sulphur requirements by 1974.

To maximize food production from available inputs, India has adopted a strategy of concentrating the combination of agricultural inputs on the most productive land with an assured supply of water. This concept was first embodied in the Intensive Agricultural Districts Program, later incorporated in the larger Intensive Agricultural Areas Program and now embodied in the High-Yielding Varieties Program. For the Fourth Five-Year plan a target of 32.5 million acres has been set for the High-Yielding Varieties Program and an adequate supply of fertilizer, improved seed varieties, plant protection materials, and irrigation are to be assured for this acreage.

India plans to cover 6.4 million acres of the best crop land with an assured water supply under the High-Yielding Varieties Program during the 1966-67 crop year—an effort without precedent. Domestic supplies of high-yielding varieties were augmented by 18,000 tons of imported wheat seed from Mexico

in an effort to meet the targets. Although available evidence indicates that the concentration of available inputs on the selected acreage has been carried out effectively, drought has affected this program to the extent of ruling out the possibility of reaching the target of one additional ton of food grain per acre. But the program is demonstrating that Indian farmers, given proper guidance and necessary inputs, can dramatically raise productivity levels.

A cabinet level committee on agricultural credit has been established. Also, a working level committee of the GOI is currently studying ways to establish a national agricultural credit program. Steps have been taken this year to increase (about 10 percent over last year) the supply of credit to cultivators through the coops and, on a pilot basis, to use the Food Corporation of India to extend credit to cultivators as an advance on their crop. Cultivators can pay off their loan by either grain or cash. Finally, private banks have been urged to establish rural credit programs.

There has been some speedup in Indian performance in the soil and water management field. The basic outline for a new program has been developed (with USAID/US Geological Survey assistance) and a central coordinating body has been set up and is partially staffed. In addition, India has developed, and is beginning to implement (with USAID/Soil Conservation Service assistance), a program for the better management and more intensive utilization of available water.

Recent evaluations of Indian agricultural development by other organizations such as the World Bank are in substantial agreement with the findings of the Department of Agriculture team that was in India in November and December 1966.

Sincerely yours,

THOMAS R. HUGHES,
Executive Assistant to the Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Ottinger. If I understand your statement correctly, you feel that Mr. Dole and I have not gone as far as you feel the facts would indicate.

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Chairman, I think that the approach is a very excellent one. What I fear is the language which I take it was put in at the request of the administration, putting what appears to be an absolute limitation on both the tonnage that we can supply and on the requirement of equal participation with the consortium nations.

The CHAIRMAN. I take it that you are of the opinion that regardless of what the rest of the world does or what India does, that we should continue to supply all of the food that is necessary for the maintenance of the people of India. Is that your position?

Mr. OTTINGER. No, I think that we should make an effort to see to it that India undertakes self-help measures; in fact the testimony offered yesterday, part of which I did read, indicates quite clearly that India has undertaken very extensive efforts to improve her own agriculture production. In fact, as already stated, I asked permission to submit for the record the letter dated February 3, 1967, from Mr. Hughes, the executive assistant to the Secretary of Agriculture, which outlines not only a study that was made by the Department of Agriculture of India's self-help efforts, but also, one that reached a similar affirmative conclusion by the World Bank. And I think that we should make every effort to have the consortium nations—the "have" nations—to contribute.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand that.

Mr. OTTINGER. But I do think that we have other levers that we could use.

The CHAIRMAN. You suggest other measures. What?

Mr. OTTINGER. There are a great many arrangements that we have with the other "have" nations.

The CHAIRMAN. Of that great many, give us three examples for the record.

Mr. OTTINGER. With respect to India, we have vast aid programs outside the agricultural field.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you suggest that we reduce that aid program if India does not give as much self-help as we feel, and the other nations do not contribute?

Mr. OTTINGER. Yes. I think this is one.

The CHAIRMAN. Just what other aid would you reduce—you would not reduce any of the agricultural aid—what aid other than that would you reduce?

Mr. OTTINGER. I think that the place where the leverage can be applied most effectively in this regard—

The CHAIRMAN. May we have order, please. Go ahead, but please let us hear the witness. That is all.

Mr. OTTINGER. It's your balance-of-payments type of situation.

The CHAIRMAN. We are speaking about the balance-of-payments situation now. Whose balance-of-payments situation?

Mr. OTTINGER. India's balance of payments situation.

The CHAIRMAN. What about the American balance-of-payments situation?

Mr. OTTINGER. The American balance-of-payments situation is a very serious one. Again, I do not happen—

The CHAIRMAN. Which would be most serious, our balance-of-payments situation, or India's balance of payments situation, I mean, from the standpoint of the American people?

Mr. OTTINGER. From the standpoint of the American people, our balance-of-payments situation is the more critical. Even so, I think that we have a tremendous interest not to have us stop giving assistance to India.

The CHAIRMAN. Let us get some of these things on the record, so that we can talk about what we can do. Would you jeopardize the American balance-of-payments situation in order to maintain the Indian balance-of-payments situation?

Mr. OTTINGER. The United States aid at this point is more than 90 percent composed of purchases in the United States. But our aid to the underdeveloped countries, one of the principal ones being India, does not actually adversely affect in any significant manner our balance-of-payments situation. I do not think that question is principally at stake. As I said, I think that there are many leverages with respect to India that can be applied.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you give us just one or two of those leverages?

Mr. OTTINGER. One, as I said, was the size and the scope of the economic aid program and the military aid program.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand that—you mention these things, but you do not tell us what we should do to cut down, for example, the military program.

Mr. OTTINGER. We could, as a matter of fact, in the course of negotiating—

The CHAIRMAN. You said to use other measures. I'm asking what they are and how you would use them. You mentioned other aid, but you do not tell us what we should cut off. You mentioned military aid. Would you reduce the military aid to India?

Mr. OTTINGER. I think that one of the bargaining positions that we can use is in determining the amount of economic aid and the amount of military aid that we give to India as a requirement of self-help. As a matter of fact, that is written into the statute as one of the requirements for giving aid to any country.

I think that we do, in fact, determine the amount of the aid that we give to a country in large part on the amount of self-help measures that they take.

The CHAIRMAN. I did not understand what you just last said. I wish that you would get the microphone a little closer to you.

Mr. OTTINGER. I said that I think that one of the requirements of our foreign aid statute and of our Public Law 480 for a food assistance program is the requirement that the country involved take self-help measures and that, in fact, in determining the amount of aid that we give to India—in determining the agreement that we make with India—that we do, in fact, take into account the amount of self-help measures undertaken by India.

The CHAIRMAN. I thought that that was one of the things to which you objected in the Poage and Dole resolutions was the fact that we tied ourselves rigidly down in saying that India had to provide self-help.

Mr. OTTINGER. Well, actually, that is not a condition which is actually contained therein, except indirectly, by reference to Public Law 480, that is, in the resolution.

The CHAIRMAN. India has not been engaged in any large self-help.

Mr. OTTINGER. I believe it has. I believe the reports from the Department of Agriculture and the World Bank are that they have taken substantial measures to increase their agricultural production, I think, within the last couple of years.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, I do not think that there is anything that any of us can do about the cow problem in India. And I do not think that the Indians can, either. But it is perfectly obvious that there are enough cattle in India, that is, if they used their cattle like other nations do, that you would not have the present food shortage in India. That is obvious, is it not?

Mr. OTTINGER. No, I do not think that is.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you not think so?

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Chairman, you and Senator Miller and Congressman Dole saw some of those cows yourself.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, there are 230 million cows, more than twice as many as in the United States.

Mr. OTTINGER. As I understand it, some of them are used for milking—about one-third of the cows are used for hauling for various kinds of work purposes, and there are some 30 million cows that are not put to productive work. I am not sure that the quality of those cows is such that they would contribute greatly to the resolution of the problem they have.

The CHAIRMAN. Regardless of the quality of the cows, the cows eat, do they not?

Mr. OTTINGER. They eat, primarily, grass.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you ever been there?

Mr. OTTINGER. I do not say—

The CHAIRMAN. Do you think that it is possible to support 230 million head of cattle without consuming feed that would otherwise—at

least make land available for the production of food for human consumption?

Mr. OTTINGER. I very much doubt it.

The CHAIRMAN. I agree that it is a difficult problem. I do not think that we can do anything about that.

Mr. OTTINGER. I am not any expert on cows. I know that it is a very difficult problem for India.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not have to be an expert on cattle—you have to be an expert in human psychology. I do not think that we can do anything about that for many years to come. But they are planting 20 million acres in cotton and every acre of that cotton land could be used in the production of foodstuffs.

Mr. OTTINGER. I understand that is not so, Mr. Chairman, though again, I am not an expert on this.

The CHAIRMAN. I did not understand you.

Mr. OTTINGER. I understand that is not so.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know one acre anywhere in the world that will grow cotton that will not, also, grow either corn, grain or sorghum, or something else? I do not know of any acre in the world that will not do that.

Mr. OTTINGER. I am very much abashed to say that I come before the Agricultural Committee as a city boy. I am afraid that I am not much of an expert on these problems, but the reports from the Department of Agriculture and the World Bank indicate that the large majority of the land on which this cotton is grown would not be fit for growing wheat.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is representing the Department of Agriculture here this morning—do we not have a representative of the Department here this morning?

Mr. HARRY ROTHENBACH (staff assistant, USDA). Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. I want this on the record here, that I challenge the Department of Agriculture to come and put into this record a statement that there is one acre of land anywhere in the world on which you can grow cotton, and on which you cannot grow some kind of foodstuff. I want you to carry that message back to the Department. And if the Department wants to testify to the contrary, they shall have the opportunity to do so in the morning. But I do not believe that that is a fact. I do not mean that you, Mr. Ottinger, misrepresented the statement. I mean that I do not believe that it is a practical statement of the facts from which that statement is made. There is not any cotton land that I know of anywhere, that will grow cotton that will not, also, grow other crops. And if the Department of Agriculture feels as it is obviously the fact that it does, from the understanding of Mr. Ottinger; I want their answer to that. If they do not feel that way, I want them to answer that. So, I want them to have that answer in the morning for our record.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, March 1, 1967.

Hon. W. R. POAGE,
Chairman, House Committee on Agriculture,
House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: This is in response to your question raised at the hearing today on emergency food assistance to India.

The soil-climatic conditions required for the production of cotton overlap the environmental range required for the production of many food-producing crops. From a physical and scientific standpoint, one can, therefore, conclude that virtually every acre of land now producing cotton could produce crops used for food or feed.

However, because of relative differences in yields and prices between cotton and food crops, cotton usually provides a greater advantage to the grower in areas where it can be grown. For example, on irrigated land in our Southwest, cotton will gross the producer about \$500 an acre compared with about \$100 an acre for double cropping barley and grain sorghum on the same land. Small acreages of the better cotton land could be used for the more intensive food crops.

In other regions of the world where cotton can be grown successfully, difference in returns may not be quite so wide as here, but the same generalization holds true. In India for example, cotton as well as food is needed for domestic consumption. India imports both. Producers of cotton in India find this crop more profitable than others even though the need for food is critical. To the extent that India can grow part of her own cotton supply, she is making available scarce foreign exchange for the purchase of foods and other needed imports from abroad.

Sincerely yours,

THOMAS R. HUGHES,
Executive Assistant to the Secretary.

MR. ROTHENBACH. We will do so, sir.

THE CHAIRMAN. But let us get back to this subject before us. Just what would you suggest that we do? I know that we have a resolution that will not satisfy everybody. We were trying to get a resolution that the four of us could agree on, the two Senators, Mr. Dole and myself. Each of them would have a different phraseology and a different approach. So that we knew that we could not and would not be able to bring in a resolution that would satisfy everybody. Would you give us suggestions as to what we should do?

MR. OTTINGER. It was my understanding—

THE CHAIRMAN. So that we understand you? All I'm trying to do is to understand how we would achieve the ends you agree are desirable—and I think that we all agree that they are desirable if—are desirable that India should do her best and that the other nations of the world should contribute—how do you suggest that we proceed? If we announce that the United States does not actually intend to carry this out if the other nations default, we will certainly get no help.

In all kindness and fairness, India has maintained a very powerful lobby in Washington, D.C., for a long time—there is nothing wrong with that—they have a right to do it, but they have maintained pressure here in Washington. They did not maintain as much pressure in Moscow. We gave them 12 million tons of food grains and Moscow has promised to give them 200,000, and yet in India you would hear statements there that the Russians are just as much interested “in our welfare as you are,” and “the Russians are helping us.” And Russia is supplying 200,000 tons of grain. We delivered in this last year and a half 12 million tons of grain. There has not been as great an effort on the part of India to get help from these other nations as there had been to get help from the United States.

How would you get them to put their pressure on these other nations as long as we tell them, “Yes, we will come through if you do not do anything, and the other countries do not do anything—we will come through.” How do you get them to put pressure on the others?

Mr. OTTINGER. I'm not in a position to state that. We have contributed a great deal without applying pressure. I think we would have done so anyhow.

The CHAIRMAN. If you agree with the statement that it is desirable that these other countries make a contribution, at least, equal to that of the United States—if that is desirable, how do you get that done? Maybe you feel it is not desirable for them to do it.

Mr. OTTINGER. I do not take that position, you know, but I do not think that the bargaining tool to use with these other nations is the starvation of the people in India. I just do not think that is an appropriate bargaining tool for us to use—one that would do our national interest very good.

The bargaining tool that we should use could be the Kennedy round of negotiations and the various trade arrangements that we make, the credit extensions that we give to these various countries. We have many areas of relations with these other countries which could enable us to prevail upon them to make a larger contribution.

The CHAIRMAN. We have had all of those areas for the last several years.

Mr. OTTINGER. The basic question, as I take it, from the colloquy yesterday with Mr. Dole, was that Mr. Dole said that he did not intend that this resolution place absolute limitations—that if one were to stick to the hard language of this and to require absolute equal contributions and if it turned out that India, instead of needing 9.8 million tons, would require 11 or 12 million tons, we would be faced with saying either that these other countries would have to contribute some more, or we will stand by and let millions starve. That is the situation we are going to be in. I think that this is not the tool to use to try to get other contributions.

The CHAIRMAN. You have yet to suggest a tool that could be used.

Mr. OTTINGER. I have tried my best.

The CHAIRMAN. The "many ways" you suggest are not very effective, unless we can identify one or two of them.

Mr. OTTINGER. I have indicated, Mr. Chairman, as specifically as I can, the other areas in which we have leverage, such as, for instance, in bargaining for tariffs, and in the credit that we extend to these countries.

The CHAIRMAN. What possible leverage would that be in bargaining on tariffs with India—what does India want to send here?

Mr. OTTINGER. No, I am talking about the other nations, the developed countries of Europe. We have, for instance, negotiations now with Germany over the number of troops that we will maintain in Germany and how those troops are going to be supported. That is one specific area in which this could be made effective. There are many similar relationships that we have in countries, like in Japan, which could be made a factor in our negotiations.

The CHAIRMAN. May I only say that I would not try to speak for Mr. Dole, although I believe we are in pretty general agreement, that I introduced this resolution in good faith, and if we are going to continue to provide food to India, India will have to provide all of the food she can at home, and she has not done it. I intended that if we are going to carry this kind of a burden that the other nations of the world are going to have to pick up one side of this load and carry it.

And if they do not do it, and we are left with what you call the "obligation"—and I do not accept it as our obligation—but with the burden of feeding a population twice as great as our own, or larger, that I recognize the hopelessness of the task, and I think that everybody would be better off to abandon that task right now. That may be harsh, Mr. Ottinger, but I do not want this record to go out and have somebody in India read this record, or the Department of Agriculture read this record and say that it is the congressional intent to meet India's full food requirements. In fact, we should require both India and the other nations of the world to do something.

This resolution is specifically to take care of that situation. We have given 6 months' time in which to negotiate these things. We are saying that, "If you cannot get your house in order in that length of time, you, apparently, do not have any intention of getting your house in order." And I think that it is very wasteful for us to keep pouring food or any other assistance into a country that will not help itself.

MR. OTTINGER. I know, Mr. Chairman, if India were to face up to a substantial part of this I think that we could have some results. But if they do not, it could have most serious consequences for this Nation—for instance, if they should go Communist.

The small amount that is involved in this to prevent starvation is a very small price to pay, indeed, as an assurance that this great market in the East does not go Communist. I think that is a much more important consideration than whether or not we can get India to do what we desire here.

THE CHAIRMAN. Mr. Dole.

MR. DOLE. I just want to comment on the language in both resolutions. They are identical and we worked on them a long time. I think, basically, nearly everyone is in agreement that what we were doing was necessary, but there were areas where it was difficult to find the appropriate language and on page 3, starting on line 6 through line 14, is one of those very difficult areas.

It was, and is, certainly intended, as Mr. Poage stated, to serve notice on the rest of the world that we cannot go it alone. And the gentleman from New York, obviously, shares the view, that there must be participation by others.

I, also, point out that there is language in lines 6 and 7 indicating the recommendation is based on estimates now available. These could change as we are not certain what may happen in India. Maybe it will be less than 3 million tons, or more than 3 million tons.

Finally, I was in good faith in introducing the resolution. I want to make it as ironclad as possible, but should there be a situation develop, there must be some daylight, some flexibility. It may be that better language can be suggested either today, tomorrow, or by someone who appeared yesterday. We worked with it for many, many hours, because we felt the President, in my opinion, feels there must be more than one humanitarian country in the world; that we do have limits and that our farmers have limits on producing for the present prices in the world.

THE CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Mr. Dole. Mr. Jones of Missouri.

MR. JONES of Missouri. I have trouble reconciling some of these statements that are made in Mr. Ottinger's statement and I want to ask him what he means by some of them.

On page 1, paragraph No. 2, where you say :

India has taken positive steps to increase agriculture production, and while these measures represent only a start, they stand as solid evidence that the Government of India is very much aware of the food crisis and is prepared to meet it.

How is she prepared to meet it?

Mr. OTTINGER. Again, I have to take my evidence second hand, Mr. Jones. I have not made a personal inspection of this, although my administrative assistant, Paul Schosberg, did go to India and spent several days there earlier this year, but what I am relying on, primarily, are studies of the World Bank and the Department of Agriculture. As I say, I have submitted with my testimony a letter from the Department of Agriculture describing the results of these. And it indicates a very substantial increase and concentration of effort on the part of the Indians to produce new fertilizer, to produce new seeds, to provide pumps for irrigation of the land. And as well, I believe, to convert cotton land to food crops, where it is possible to do that. These efforts have been made. They have not done everything that might have been done, but the reports that were made by the experts indicate that they have made enormous efforts and have made real achievements in putting their own agriculture to work.

Of course, we have periodic problems with the weather, too, as all agriculture areas do. And the Indians feel that they will be able to get into a position, eventually, where they will be able to overcome those obstacles. They have not yet achieved that. They have a goal and a program that the Department of Agriculture thinks is adequate to put them on a real self-sustaining basis by 1971.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. What I am getting at is that you say up here that India is prepared to meet this problem, and then in the next paragraph you say :

It is obvious that neither India's self-help measures to increase agricultural productivity nor her efforts to reduce population growth will have a notable effect in the next decade.

In one place you say that she is prepared to meet it, and then you say that she cannot do it in 10 years—that you doubt that. Can she do it in 50 years?

Mr. OTTINGER. I am afraid that I will have to admit that the language in the statement, perhaps, is not as artistic as it might be. But what I am saying is that the reports I have would indicate that India is making a very substantial effort and there is a reasonable prospect that she will be on a self-sufficient basis within a short period of time.

The Indian program calls for her to be self-sufficient by 1971.

Mr. JONES of Missouri. I think that you have read some of the wrong reports. The reports I have been reading and the observations I have made, are not consonant with your statement at all. That is all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any other questions? If there are no further questions, we are very much obliged to you. I would simply like to say that I do not want to be in the position of saying that India has done nothing. I stated publicly yesterday, I think, that India has done considerable, but she lacks a great deal of making the self-help efforts that I would expect of an individual citizen who might live in my community and might be an applicant for public welfare.

India is an applicant for public welfare. India asked that the United States assume some kind of burden, some kind of responsibility in this respect. And I want to disassociate myself from any statement that we have any such "obligation" to India.

We are very much obliged to you, Mr. Ottinger. The committee will now go into recess for the purpose of presenting the maid of cotton.

Mr. Jones of North Carolina, together with Mr. Whitener, will present the maid of cotton, Miss Georgia Kay Pearce of Gastonia, North Carolina.

(Short recess.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will resume its session. We thank you again, Mr. Ottinger.

Mr. OTTINGER. I wonder if I might say just one more word.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, you may.

Mr. OTTINGER. That is, I do not feel at all that it is our obligation to the Indians to do all of these things—I do not feel that we have any obligation to India. I think that the obligation is to ourselves and to the free world to see to it that India maintains its freedom. That, I think, is where the word "obligation" ought to be applied.

I would agree with you 100 percent that we should not be reproached by India, and that we should not be told that we have an obligation to help them. I feel that the obligation is to ourselves.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, very much. We are very much obliged to you. We appreciate your attendance.

We will hear the next witness, Mr. Harvey Sickels of the National Farmers Organization who is present with us. We will be delighted to hear from you at this time, Mr. Sickels.

STATEMENT OF HARVEY SICKELS, SECRETARY, NATIONAL FARMERS ORGANIZATION, ACCOMPANIED BY LEE D. SINCLAIR, GENERAL COUNSEL

Mr. SICKELS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, my name is Harvey Sickels and I am secretary of the National Farmers Organization.

It is a pleasure to appear before you today in support of House Joint Resolution 267, introduced by the distinguished chairman of this committee, the Honorable Bob Poage, from Texas, and House Joint Resolution 262, introduced by the distinguished Congressman from Kansas, the Honorable Bob Dole.

We wish to commend this committee and other Members of the Congress for their prompt attention and immediate action to meet the urgent needs of the people of India.

We feel sure the addition of the proposed 3 million tons of feed grain to the amount already provided for by previous arrangements, will do much to combat hunger and malnutrition in this area that has been plagued by 2 years of drought. The provision that this amount to appropriately matched should be helpful in securing support and assistance from other countries.

We approve wholeheartedly this emergency food assistance for India. We are requesting, however, that this committee and Congress as a whole, be reminded that the supply of food stocks in our own

great country has been somewhat reduced. We have great concern about the request for farmers to increase production 30 percent and at the same time the forecast for lower income for farmers for the year 1967.

We wish to comment that strategic manufactured items are purchased by the Government directly from the manufacturer many times before they are manufactured, with a guaranteed profit above costs. We do not criticize the manufacturing industry for negotiating this type of sale. The NFO is trying very hard to do the same thing for its members.

We feel there is a great similarity between other industries and agriculture. In fact, they are exactly the same up to one point. We, in agriculture, have cost of production in seed, fertilizer, hired labor, taxes, and maintenance of farm machinery, as industry has cost of production for raw materials, plant maintenance, labor, and return on their investment.

The last two items listed for industry are not now being considered for cost of production analysis of farm income for farm operators. We say it must and will be when farmers join together and price their products.

This has a direct bearing on this proposed legislation. If adequate stocks are not available from CCC, then we urge that CCC be given the authority to go into the open market to purchase that amount necessary to assist India in their emergency food shortage.

There may be those who will say this will disrupt the markets. If this is so, then the proponents of supply and demand must be admitting some fallacy in their argument that supply and demand sets the price, for if supply and demand are in balance and this assures farmers parity prices, then shouldn't our prices be at 100 percent of parity instead of the present average of 77 percent?

We appreciate the opportunity to appear here today and hope our testimony has been helpful.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Mr. Sickels. We appreciate your statement and your concern as you have expressed it in connection with this subject. I am sure that the members of this committee are greatly concerned. We appreciate your being here.

Are there any questions of Mr. Sickels? There being no questions, let me say again that we are very much obliged to you, Mr. Sickels.

Mr. SICKELS. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Our next witness is Mr. Bert Tollefson, executive director of the American Corn Millers Federation. We will be glad to hear from you.

**STATEMENT OF BERT TOLLEFSON, JR., EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR,
AMERICAN CORN MILLERS FEDERATION, ACCOMPANIED BY
JUAN DEL CASTILLO, FIELD DIRECTOR**

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, with me at the witness table is Juan del Castillo, our field director. We do welcome this opportunity to appear briefly in support of the resolutions introduced by yourself and Congressman Dole. Mr. Castillo has been recently in India and may have some comments in response to questions in the way of observations. He is going back shortly to be there again several weeks, working on several projects.

We appreciate this opportunity to meet with you on the vital subject of world food needs. I am Bert Tollefson, Jr., executive director of the American Corn Millers Federation and Export Institute. With me at the table is Juan del Castillo, our field director. Like you, Chairman Poage and Congressman Dole, Mr. Castillo has been in India recently and will return to India and neighboring countries early next month where he will be working several weeks on various projects.

We welcome this opportunity to testify in favor of the resolutions supporting the President's India food message of February 2, which have been introduced in the House by Congressmen W. R. Poage, Democrat, of Texas, and Bob Dole, Republican, of Kansas, with corresponding resolutions introduced in the Senate by Senator Gale McGee, Democrat, of Wyoming, and Senator Jack Miller, Republican, of Iowa. The corn milling industry wholeheartedly endorses this bipartisan expression by Congress supporting the efforts of our Government in coming to the aid of the Indian people at this time of critical food shortage. Attached to our statement is a list of our 70 member companies in 24 States.

Frank Ellis, director of the Food for Peace Division in the Agency for International Development, Department of State, recently stated:

During the past 12 years 3½ billion pounds of cornmeal have been distributed through the U.S. Government and private agencies creating 9 million years of life food energy.

This 3½ billion pounds of golden cornmeal has proven throughout the years to be a nutritious and efficient source of calories and energy in more than 100 countries where corn foods are basic in their usual diets. An outstanding job of administration and public information has been done by officials of the Departments of Agriculture and State, by the Food for Peace offices, and the voluntary agencies including CARE, Catholic Relief Service, Lutheran World Relief, Church World Service, American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, UNICEF, and others.

Golden cornmeal has so many uses in native dishes throughout the world, we expect its use to increase. But research projects of our federation and other research activities of our member companies are developing other new milled corn products which will make additional contributions toward combating world hunger.

Beginning last September and through January, the U.S. Government has purchased 150 million pounds of a new high-protein, low-cost blended food called CSM which is being distributed by many voluntary agencies to over 80 countries. This new food has been developed through cooperation of Government nutrition experts and the corn milling industry. Most, if not all, of you on the committee know that CSM is a formulation of 68 percent processed cornmeal, 25 percent soy flour, 5 percent nonfat dry milk, and 2 percent vitamin-mineral premix. The result is a 20-percent protein food with an adjusted protein efficiency ratio of 2.48 and a nutritionally proved amino acid balance. It is virtually bran free, has a bland flavor and smooth texture for feeding as a gruel, beverage, or as dough in such foods as tortillas, empanadas, chapati, enchilladas, and so forth.

Nongovernmental programs for acquisition of milled corn products is exemplified by UNICEF's recent cash dollar purchase of 7.6 mil-

lion pounds of CSM for about \$700,000 that will arrive in India ports by mid-March. This CSM will provide 480,000 beneficiaries with a supplementary ration of 80 grams a day for 3 months. The current issue of UNICEF News refers to CSM use as "the first attempt in history to introduce a new food product simultaneously to millions of people on a worldwide basis." UNICEF officials believe it will work.

Yesterday's newspapers reported an article by British nutrition expert N. W. Pirie, writing in the February issue of *Scientific American*, that eating habits can and will be changed with the hungriest peoples being helped the most with new high-protein processed foods.

While CSM is being used primarily as a new food for infant and child feeding it has appeal for adults also. Several members of this committee tasted CSM at our recent milled corn products luncheon here in the Capitol. Most of you who attended that luncheon sampled each of the foods including the famous House Restaurant cornbread, cheese-flavored hominy grits, cord-fed beef and a corn flake cake dessert; but one Congressman liked the CSM soup well enough that he limited his lunch to three cups of the CSM which tastes something like split pea soup.

In New Delhi, Food Minister Subramaniam of India recently said that 60 million people are affected by the scarcity of food, 30 percent of them being children. The *Express News Service* quoted Mr. Subramaniam as saying:

The Government was taking every precaution to see that no child suffered from hunger. A special kind of food containing corn, soyabean, and milk was now provided to these children.

The *Christian Science Monitor* of December 9, 1966, discussed CSM as follows:

Washington has great expectations for blended food formula No. 2.

Its name is prosaic enough. But officials believe its possibilities as a new means of feeding hungry nations could be excellent.

In India, it already has a name: *bal ahar*—Hindi for "child's nutritious food."

Evaluation tests of CSM are now being conducted in over 80 countries and reports have been very favorable. Also attached to our statement is a listing of countries where CSM is being used and the allocation by amount of the first 92 million pounds purchased through December. We are emphasizing the contributions of CSM today, because like a new child in the family, we give it more attention than the others that have been with us longer.

The corn milling industry in cooperation with American corn farmers will continue to work in any feasible way on the vital problem of alleviating world food needs. We are committed through the federation and institute to many projects aimed at improving world nutrition and expanding commerce as essential elements of world peace.

The Department of Agriculture, AID, and State Department have presented you with expert testimony and detailed statistics as to world food needs. You Members of Congress and your staff professionals are evaluating world population trends and food production capabilities. There is an obvious urgency to your deliberations and we will not take time to restate or duplicate facts which we know you are perusing.

Our purpose in making this brief appearance is to express agreement with the India food resolutions pending before you. It is our

further purpose to again assure Congress and Government agencies of our commitment as an industry to be of help wherever possible as we jointly seek solutions to pressing problems of world food needs.

The President in his state of the Union message emphasized the vital importance of developing programs and policies to meet world population growth and resultant food needs. This concern has been reaffirmed by congressional leaders of both parties.

The noted historian Arnold Toynbee, in discussing his challenge and response theory of history, cited civilization such as the Babylonian and Roman Empires that failed to adequately respond to challenges, began to deteriorate and eventually disappeared. One of the greatest challenges facing the United States in our position of leadership is the world food and population situation. The corn milling industry assures you of our commitment to provide manpower, research, and production capacity in participating with others to assure that our national response is sufficient for the challenge.

Our industry accepts our portion of the responsibility but we also consider all the circumstances to provide special opportunities for the potential productivity of American farmers and ingenuity of American industry. We also recognize the essentiality of our Nation assisting underdeveloped countries to develop expanded agricultural production and processing capacity. Our member companies have established plants and marketing operations throughout the world and are working on additional new projects in this area.

Two weeks ago, I spoke at a dinner in Kankakee, Ill., and visited with the presidents of a local farm organization and the local chamber of commerce. The three of us were agreed on the responsibility and opportunity for agriculture and business to combine their very best efforts in meeting crucial world food needs. I am sure that you Members of Congress in meeting with your constituents sense this grass-roots commitment from all segments of our society to support the Congress and the administration in this most vital undertaking.

Thank you.

(The attachment follows:)

AMERICAN CORN MILLERS FEDERATION

Alabama Flour Mills, Decatur, Ala.	Dan Valley Mills, Danville, Va.
Albers Milling Co., Los Angeles, Calif.	Davis Mills, Seven Springs, N.C.
Allen Brothers Milling Co., Columbia, S.C.	W. A. Davis Milling Co., High Point, N.C.
The Attala Co., Kosciusko, Miss.	H. Dittlinger Rollers Mills Co., New Braunfels, Tex.
Austin-Heaton Co., Durham, N.C.	Dixie Lily Milling Co., Tampa, Fla.
Barry-Carter Milling Co., Lebanon, Tenn.	Eagle Roller Mill Co., Shelby, N.C.
Autry Brothers Milling Co., Autryville, N.C.	Eelbeck Milling Co., Inc., Columbus, Ga.
Bagdad Roller Mills, Bagdad, Ky.	Fant Milling Co., Gainesville, Tex.
J. F. Bess & Co., Gastonia, N.C.	Fant Milling Co., Sherman, Tex.
Bishopville Milling Co., Bishopville, S.C.	General Foods Corp., Kankakee, Ill.
Bluff City Mills, Bluff City, Tenn.	Gilster Milling Co., Chester, Ill.
Burrus Mill & Elevator Co., Fort Worth, Tex.	Gooch Milling Co., Inc., Lincoln, Nebr.
Burrus Mills, Inc., Dallas, Tex.	Gurley Milling Co., Inc., Princeton, N.C.
City Mills Co., Columbus, Ga.	Harris Milling, Owosso, Mich.
Cleveland Milling Co., Cleveland, Tenn.	Hill City Mills, Vicksburg, Miss.
Crete Mills, Crete, Nebr.	Hopkinsville Milling Co., Hopkinsville, Ky.
	House Milling Co., Newton Grove, N.C.
	Humphreys Mills, Memphis, Tenn.

AMERICAN CORN MILLERS FEDERATION—Continued

Illinois Cereal Mills, Paris, Ill.	Nebraska Consolidated, Grand Island, Nebr.
Keco Milling Co., Nashville, Tenn.	Nebraska Consolidated Mills Co., Omaha, Nebr.
Kellogg Co., Battle Creek, Mich.	Pabst Brewing Co., Peoria, Ill.
Kellogg Co., Omaha, Nebr.	Pabst Brewing Co., Milwaukee, Wis.
Spencer Kellogg Division of Textron, Kansas City, Mo.	Page Milling Co., Luray, Va.
Krause Milling Co., Milwaukee, Wis.	Peavey Company Flour Mills, Dallas, Tex.
Lauhoff Grain Co., Danville, Ill.	Piedmont Mills, Inc., Lynchburg, Va.
Lauhoff Grain Co., Chicago, Ill.	Quaker Oats Co., Chicago, Ill.
Lauhoff Grain Co., Geneva, N.Y.	Rains Milling Co., Inc., Princeton, N.C.
Louisa Supply Co., Louisa, Ky.	Ringgold Milling Co., Clarksville, Tenn.
Martha White Mills, Inc., Nashville, Tenn.	Shawnee Milling Co., Shawnee, Okla.
Martha White Mills of West Virginia, Huntington, W. Va.	Sheridan Flouring Mills, Sheridan, Wyo.
Mauser Mills, Treichlers, Pa.	Southeastern Mills, Inc., Rome, Ga.
Miner-Hillard Milling Co. of Lauhoff Grain Co., Wilkes-Barre, Pa.	Western Grain Co., Birmingham, Ala.
Model Mill Co., Jackson, Tenn.	Wilkins-Rogers Milling Co., Washington, D.C.
Molinos de Puerto Rico, San Juan, P.R.	Wilson's Corn Products, Inc., Rochester, Ind.
The Morrison Milling Co., Denton, Tex.	Yukon Mill & Grain Co., Yukon, Okla.
Nappanee Milling Co., Inc., Nappanee, Ind.	
Nebraska Consolidated, Fremont, Nebr.	

Archer-Daniels Midland Co., Minneapolis, Minn., is a member of the Export Institute based on their production of CSM.

MINISTER SEEKS HELP FROM ALL : FOOD CRISIS

Express News Service

NEW DELHI, November 15.—Food Minister Subramaniam said today the food situation was worse than it was last year and could not be solved until the people and the political parties fully co-operated with the Government.

"This year is going to be another year of difficulty because of drought and floods in several parts of the country, particularly Bihar and Uttar Pradesh," he said.

PRECAUTION

At the moment 60 million people were affected by the scarcity of food grains, 30 per cent of them being children.

The Government was taking every precaution to see that no child suffered from hunger. A special kind of food, containing corn, soyabean and milk, was now provided to these children, Mr. Subramaniam said.

Purchases of CSM, September through December, 1966, by country and program

Country	Program	Quantity (pounds)	Country total (pounds)
Aden.....	UNICEF..	32,000	32,000
Algeria.....	CWS.....	100,000	100,000
Antigua.....	UNICEF..	87,000	87,000
Brazil.....	Title II..	11,897,950	-----
	CWS.....	343,000	-----
	LWR.....	189,000	-----
	NCWC....	500,000	12,929,950
Br. Honduras.....	CARE.....	100,000	100,000
Burina.....	UNICEF..	435,000	435,000
Burundi.....	UNICEF..	12,000	12,000
Cambodia.....	UNICEF..	3,500	3,500
Cameroon.....	UNICEF..	7,000	7,000
Chad.....	UNICEF..	28,000	28,000
Chile.....	CARE.....	100,000	100,000
China.....	UNICEF..	800,000	800,000
Columbia.....	CARE.....	2,637,400	-----
	NCWC....	300,000	2,937,400
Congo.....	CRS.....	200,000	-----
	CWS.....	100,000	300,000
Costa Rica.....	CARE.....	300,000	300,000
Dominica.....	UNICEF..	112,500	112,500
Dominican Republic.....	CARE.....	100,000	-----
	CWS.....	122,500	-----
	NCWC....	1,380,000	602,500
Ecuador.....	CARE.....	100,000	-----
	NCWC....	600,000	700,000
Egypt.....	CARE.....	1,900,000	-----
	WRC.....	4,400	1,904,400
El Salvador.....	NCWC....	300,000	300,000
Ethiopia.....	NCWC....	73,000	73,000
Ghana.....	CRS.....	200,000	-----
	CWS.....	100,000	300,000
Greece.....	CWS.....	888,500	-----
	NCWC....	195,000	1,083,500
Grenada.....	UNICEF..	77,000	77,000
Guadeloupe.....	NCWC....	96,000	96,000
Guatemala.....	CARE.....	500,000	500,000
Guinea.....	UNICEF..	3,500	3,500
Guyana.....	Title II..	44,100	44,100
Haiti.....	CARE.....	100,000	-----
	CWS.....	100,000	-----
	NCWC....	100,000	300,000
Honduras.....	CARE.....	270,000	270,000
Hong Kong.....	UNICEF..	9,000	-----
	SDA.....	21,000	30,000
India.....	CARE.....	39,145,600	-----
	CWS.....	225,000	-----
	NCWC....	600,000	-----
	UNICEF..	5,245,000	45,215,600
Indonesia.....	NCWC....	100,000	100,000
Iran.....	UNICEF..	400,000	400,000
Israel.....	HAD.....	50,000	50,000
	DASAH.....	-----	-----
Ivory Coast.....	UNICEF..	70,000	70,000
Jamaica.....	CWS.....	50,000	50,000
Jordan.....	LWR.....	9,500	-----
	NCWC....	40,000	-----
	UNICEF..	117,000	166,500
Kenya.....	NCWC....	200,000	-----
	UNICEF..	283,000	483,000
Korea.....	Title II..	6,613,800	-----
	CWS.....	10,000	-----
	NCWC....	49,000	6,767,800
Laos.....	NCWC....	100,000	100,000
Liberia.....	NCWC....	50,000	50,000
Malagasy.....	NCWC....	100,000	100,000
Malawi.....	UNICEF..	26,000	26,000
Malaysia.....	NCWC....	200,000	-----
	UNICEF..	245,000	445,000
Mali.....	UNICEF..	25,000	25,000
Malta.....	NCWC....	1,000	1,000
Martinique.....	NCWC....	40,000	40,000
Mauritania.....	NCWC....	3,500	3,500
Mauritius.....	UNICEF..	383,000	383,000
Montserrat.....	UNICEF..	38,000	38,000
Morocco.....	NCWC....	1,000,000	1,000,000
Okinawa.....	CWS.....	545,000	545,000
Paraguay.....	MCC.....	25,000	25,000
East Pakistan.....	CWS.....	25,000	25,000
West Pakistan.....	CWS.....	50,000	50,000

Purchases of CSM, September through December, 1966, by country and program—Continued

Country	Program	Quantity (pounds)	Country total (pounds)
Peru.....	Title II.....	3,268,000	
	NCWC.....	100,000	3,368,000
Philippines.....	CWS.....	277,500	
	NCWC.....	640,000	
	SAWS.....	69,000	986,500
Rwanda.....	UNICEF.....	18,000	18,000
St. Helena.....	UNICEF.....	22,000	22,000
St. Kitts.....	UNICEF.....	118,000	118,000
St. Lucia.....	UNICEF.....	104,000	104,000
St. Vincent.....	UNICEF.....	86,000	86,000
Senegal.....	CRS.....	100,000	100,000
Seychelles.....	UNICEF.....	78,000	78,000
Sierra Leone.....	CRS.....	100,000	100,000
Singapore.....	UNICEF.....	84,500	84,500
Somalia.....	UNICEF.....	27,000	27,000
Spain.....	NCWC.....	1,680,000	1,680,000
Sudan.....	UNICEF.....	85,000	85,000
Surinam.....	UNICEF.....	236,000	236,000
Swaziland.....	UNICEF.....	83,000	83,000
Taiwan.....	CWS.....	100,000	100,000
Tanzania.....	NCWC.....	500,000	
	UNICEF.....	307,900	807,900
Thailand.....	UNICEF.....	445,000	445,000
Trinidad and Tobago.....	UNICEF.....	43,000	43,000
Tunisia.....	Title II.....	44,000	
	UNICEF.....	87,100	131,100
Turks and Caicos.....	UNICEF.....	23,000	23,000
Upper Volta.....	NCWC.....	264,000	264,000
Uganda.....	UNICEF.....	251,500	251,500
Vietnam.....	MCC.....	75,000	
	NCWC.....	200,000	
	UNICEF.....	400,000	675,000
Yemen.....	UNICEF.....	22,000	22,000
Yugoslavia.....	CWS.....	450,000	450,000

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Tollefson.

Are there any questions?

Mr. DOLE. You are not suggesting, Mr. Tollefson, that we amend the resolution in anyway—you are just indicating your interest and emphasizing things that can be done?

Mr. TOLLEFSON. We do not pretend to be experts in terms of the details of the resolution. We have analyzed the resolution. We feel that in your best judgment you devised what you feel is the best under the circumstances.

We understood from the question yesterday that Mrs. May asked, the question about processed food, whether they would be included and made available—we feel that this is vital, because as these developing countries do expand their research activities, improve their agricultural ability, they will still go through a period of time when they need additional help from developed countries, such as the United States, and that, of course, is reflected in your whole consortium idea.

Mr. DOLE. Thank you.

Mr. CHAIRMAN. Are there any further questions?

Mr. RARICK. As I understand, the gentleman with you has been to India?

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Yes. That is right.

Mr. RARICK. I wonder, sir, whether you have any statistics that would show the increase in the number of cases of malnutrition or deaths due to starvation?

Mr. CASTILLO. No, sir.

Mr. RARICK. There has been a great image put out to the American people that children are dying and starving because of malnutrition in India. In all fairness to our people, I have never seen any statistics to establish this fear. I myself have never been in India.

Men I have talked to who have been there have said that there has been hunger and malnutrition in India as long as there has ever been a country.

As I understand your testimony, sir, you are here trying to encourage the feeding of hungry people in the world, to sell food, and not merely to tell us that we must take away our taxpayer's money expressly to pay for the feeding problem of other countries, is that right?

Mr. CASTILLO. I do not have statistics on the subject, but I think that it would be pretty apparent to any casual visitor to India that there is an extraordinary need for the help that America has been sending over there.

My function with the Corn Millers Institute is to service our products. I am not in a position to offer statistics to support this which is an honest feeling that I have. And that the resolutions that have been proposed here and the other efforts that have been made to supply food to India are badly needed. I cannot support that with statistics, however.

Mr. RARICK. Do you not believe the Indian people themselves, through their own Government should respond in some form of leadership to the food problem?

Mr. CASTILLO. Yes. I think so.

Mr. RARICK. What would you think of our Government if we in the United States would sit idly by and permit millions of Americans to suffer from malnutrition and with the children going to bed who were hungry—you would not think much of that Government, would you?

Mr. CASTILLO. No, sir.

Mr. RARICK. Unless we took some action to feed our own hungry people?

Mr. CASTILLO. I would not.

Mr. RARICK. Secretary Freeman's testimony indicated that in India the agricultural development is second on the budget to national defense. This was his testimony. The Indian Government, apparently, is more interested in spending tax money on guns and airplanes than in buying food and feeding their own peoples—as this would indicate. I want to support this program if I am satisfied that I can justify my vote to my people, because I do not want anyone to go hungry in these times of great prosperity we enjoy. Certainly, I think that the American people feel this way. But here is a country that is using its peoples' hard money for other purposes. The testimony of Mr. Rostow yesterday was that we should free the Indian money, so that they could use that money for other economic ventures as have been laid out by the World Bank and the U.S. Government.

I do not know what those ventures are. I propose to question on that and to find out.

In other words, as I understand your testimony today, you are here mainly to help these people, and you are not here especially asking us to increase the American taxpayers' burden, to give them this food, until at least, there has been some indication in India itself that they are trying to buy and produce this food.

Mr. TOLLEFSON. We are in support of the resolutions which encompass the thoughts that you expressed, with some variation.

Mr. RARICK. You have no knowledge as to how this food is to get to the mouths of the people who are supposedly hungry?

Mr. CASTILLO. The foods that we are primarily concerned with are golden cornmeal and CSM, that is distributed in India through the voluntary relief agencies, such as CARE, the Lutheran and the Catholic relief organizations, as well as other agencies, such as UNICEF. I am sure that sufficient instructions as to use of these foods are being distributed by the voluntary agencies so that they will be properly used by the recipients.

I wanted to make one comment apropos to your question about whether India is doing something so that eventually the United States would be relieved of the burden of supplying foods there. There are three projects in India that are currently underway that would, I think, support that position.

In the first place, CSM is a high protein, multipurpose supplementary food. And it is encouraging the production of a similar product in India which the officials of the food for peace in New Delhi feel should be in production late this year.

There is another food now being produced in India by Indian personnel and technicians which is a similar type of food. And, eventually, should help to supplant importations of CSM from the United States.

The golden cornmeal donations to India have been sufficiently successful so that now the Indian Government is planning, I have been told by Mr. Carmi in the Ministry of Food and Agriculture, that the Indian Government is going to install very large-scale dry corn milling plants in India, which, I believe, they have never had before.

So, those are three steps which would seem to support the point of view that these donations, eventually, do help the recipient countries, such as India, to solve their own feeding problems. It is not something that is done overnight, as you well know.

Mr. RARICK. Do not get me wrong. I am from a farmer belt. I want to sell all of the agriculture products that we can, but if we are going to give them to some foreign country I want the food to go to the people that need it.

In this instance, the World Bank is going to be in control of the distribution.

There are further questions in my mind I should like to ask, but I do not think that you can answer them.

Thank you.

Mr. TOLLEFSON. I think that you, like every other Member of Congress has to substantiate the position you take with your constituents, but this aspect of the world food program has never seemed to be controversial as the subject in most areas of the country. You asked whether you could defend this with your constituents. You know whether you can better than anybody else.

Having worked with this concept of food for the hungry people since I was in the Department, since 1950, I do not know of any Member of Congress that has ever had problems in support of this type of a very humanitarian and very justifiable effort. Expressing, of course, that it has to be properly administered and that the food gets to the people.

Mr. RARICK. We have people starving in Red China and I have an idea in Poland and in Czechoslovakia, in countries all over the world, but we Americans could not feed all of them. That is, out of the tax payers' pockets. As has been indicated here.

I was mainly trying to pry out from behind the emotional image that is thrown up, that you cannot even question this bill, because there are millions of children lying in the streets dying of starvation, merely emotional phrases. I have not seen any statistics to support this.

I do know that at 2 o'clock yesterday the World Bank had three lobbyists, representatives, here trying to sell this take away program. And no one can tell me that the World Bank is hungry. If we are to give any food to the Indians, we should give it to the people that are in need.

India is a terrifically large country. As I understand it, there are hungry people there and the problem will get worse, unless the Indian Government does something. The whole Indian country did not have a drought. It was confined to several provinces or districts.

One of my colleagues asked yesterday about rats in the silos and in the storage bins. But if people are starving and hungry, the question becomes what is grain in India doing in a warehouse? Why is it not being given to the people?

Mr. TOLLEFSON. In distribution, of course, there are delays of days, sometimes weeks, sir. There has been some storage to meet the emergencies in particular areas. Certainly, the farmer—as a farmer you are aware of that yourself.

Mr. RARICK. I am all for you. I want to help. My main concern is what creates the problem in India; what the Indians are doing with the hard money they have; whether their Government is doing little or nothing; or are they waiting on us Americans to do it all?

Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Mr. Rarick.

Mr. RARICK. If I may, Mr. Chairman, a further statement. I have here two letters which I have addressed, one to the Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Freeman, and one to the Under Secretary of State, Mr. Rostow, of February 28, 1967, with reference to a request made yesterday for the submission to these gentlemen for answers to be made in the record. And if I may, I should like to have them incorporated into the record at this point along with the answers when they are made.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, that may be done.

(The two letters and answers thereto referred to above, follow:)

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., February 28, 1967.

Re Food to India committee hearing.

HON. ORVILLE FREEMAN,
Secretary of Agriculture.
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I am terribly sorry that time and the quorum bell caught me today before I was in turn to ask a few questions on your testimony. At Vice-Chairman Gathings' approval, I am submitting questions in writing and would appreciate your answer in writing for inclusion in the Agriculture Committee Record on this important matter.

Americans, by their education and attitude, are most anxious to help any peoples in trouble. The picture painted to us of India is one of famine, starvation and pestilence.

1. Do you have any data or statistics revealing any increase in deaths due to starvation or malnutrition during 1966? 1967? If so, what is the source of your information? If not, is this merely a persuasive manner of speech to soften the hearts of the American people?

2. How was the foodgrain given to India in 1966 handled? By whom?

3. How is the food to be delivered or reach the individuals for consumption? Will it be sold or a free gift? If sold, by whom? By whom and how will it be decided who is to receive the food?

4. At page 3 of your written statement I note your comment:

"Numerous work projects were carried out and financed with U.S. grain. . . . It was used to finance useful efforts such as building roads and improving irrigation systems."

Was the grain, a gift from America, used to buy work and given only to workers? Or, was our grain used as a medium of exchange to finance projects? If yes, what per cent of grain went to India and what per cent to industrial endeavors? Who owned the endeavors? Who made the decision?

5. Can the Indian people be in as dire a plight as you will suggest when your statement at page 7 states,

"Agriculture is second only to national defense in the Fourth Plan."

Any country that doesn't consider its people and their health as the front line of national defense is in a difficult role. What do you mean by national defense—guns and tanks? What is the price range between the first and second?

6. At page 8 of your testimony you make great references to the Indian government's "steps in 1966 to stimulate investment in fertilizer production including private manufacture and foreign investments." In fact, you indicate more emphasis being made by the Indian government, or whoever is calling the signals, on fertilizer than any other economic field. Can you explain this?

7. Are you aware that fertilizer is readily converted to gun powder and explosives? Are you also aware that fertilizer plants can be readily converted to munitions factories?

8. Why does the proposed "Grain from American People" go to the India Consortium under control of the World Bank rather than to the Indian government or the local communities where the people are in need of food?

9. Have the people of India in the communities involved asked for this aid? Is the program set up so that the food is marked by containers or otherwise so that the recipients will know it is received from the citizens of the United States of America?

The Agriculture Committee will conclude its hearings on March 2, and it would be greatly appreciated if you will answer my questions so that I can include your answers in the transcript.

Very truly yours,

JOHN R. RARICK, *Member of Congress.*

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,

Washington, D.C., March 8, 1967.

HON. JOHN R. RARICK,
House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. RARICK: This is in reply to the questions raised in connection with United States food assistance to India in your letter of February 28.

1. I do not have any data or statistics with regard to any increase in deaths from starvation or malnutrition. What we do know, however, is that under normal circumstances the average per capita diet in India is seriously below standards regarded as essential for health. We know that the drought this year has decreased the amount of food normally available, therefore, it is not difficult to conclude that hunger and malnutrition would become very serious in the absence of generous food shipments from abroad.

2. The procurement, ocean transportation arrangements, discharging of vessels in Indian ports and the distribution within the country of foodgrain supplied to India by the United States in 1966 were handled by the Government of India:

(a) Procurement of the grain from U.S. suppliers was made by the India Supply Mission in Washington.

(b) Chartering of U.S. flag ships was done in Washington by the India Supply Mission.

(c) Chartering of foreign flag ships was done in New Delhi by the Government of India.

(d) Port unloading and distribution of the grain to various areas in India was carried out under the jurisdiction of the Indian Ministry of Food and Agriculture through four Regional Food Directors located in New Delhi, Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras.

3. Grain supplied to India under Title I is distributed to consumers through a network of 130,000 Fair Price Shops which sell at a fixed price that is normally below the price of domestically produced wheat. In areas where rationing is in effect (including large cities) grain is supplied through the Fair Price Shops to the needy holding ration cards.

Approximately 25 percent of the imported wheat is directed to about 160 milling establishments throughout the country which supply bakeries and Fair Price Shops.

The Central Government of India allocates PL 480 wheat and wheat from government stocks to the various State Governments and Federal Districts according to need.

Grain donated to India under Title III is handled by U.S. voluntary agencies such as CARE, Church World Service, and others who arrange for receipt and make direct distribution to various groups of needy persons.

4. The grain used on work projects was a gift made through the United States voluntary agencies and was used in partial payment to workers on small work projects such as sinking wells, repairing wells and deepening wells, also repairing roads, particularly in stricken areas. It was not used as a medium of exchange to finance projects.

5. I intended to use the term "national defense" in the broad sense—not just guns and tanks. Realistically India faces a formidable military adversary in Communist China, which has demonstrated its belligerency in its 1962 attack on India and could very well do so again. I did not intend to suggest a preoccupation with military development. I think the increased emphasis on food production which has greatly narrowed the gap between defense expenditures and expenditures on agricultural development is a good indication that India does consider the health and welfare of its people as the first line of defense.

6. I emphasized fertilizer because it is one of the key production items. It also is different from a variety of other production inputs because large amounts of foreign exchange and foreign private investment will be required to meet targets set for fertilizer availability by the Government of India. Fertilizer probably more than any other production item, represents a real test of the sincerity of the Government of India to improve agricultural output. Tough decisions on allocation of scarce foreign exchange and economic policies affecting private investment are required to make available to cultivators the needed amounts of fertilizer. So far the Government of India has demonstrated its willingness and ability to act positively on the difficult issues involved in expanding fertilizer supplies. In emphasizing fertilizer, however, I did not intend to downgrade the importance of the other production requisites.

7. It is unlikely that any risk is involved in supplying fertilizers to India and producing fertilizers in India. India is an open country and any attempts to convert to production of explosives would be in evidence. What is in evidence is the growing demand for fertilizer and the efforts of the Government to meet these demands.

8. The proposal to have a multilateral approach to India's food problems through the India consortium is a means of getting other developed nations to share the cost of meeting India's critical food needs. The World Bank, as chairman of this consortium, would act in a coordinating role. The India consortium approach provides historical basis for determining how much each member of the group might contribute and accounting for such contributions. Each member of the consortium would provide assistance to India on a bilateral basis. Food assistance from the United States would go directly to India and to the Indian people who need this food as it has in the past. The United States would receive direct credit for its contributions, as would other contributing nations.

9. Where there is a general need for food aid such as in the State of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh which are suffering from drought at the present time, the State Governments request assistance from the Central Government which in turn requests aid under Title I, PL 480 from the United States. In the case of emergency need on an individual or smaller group basis requests are made by these individuals or local welfare groups directly to United States voluntary agencies.

Where food such as bulk grain is being supplied under Title I it is difficult to mark it as coming from the United States although adequate publicity is given to the individual programs and arrivals. The citizenry is also aware that grain supplied through the Fair Price Shops is of U.S. origin.

In the case of Donations under Title III containers of food distributed through the voluntary agencies are clearly marked in English and the language of the country, "Donated by the People of the United States of America, not to be Sold or Exchanged."

I regret that as a result of the delay in receipt of your letter this information was not supplied earlier.

Sincerely yours,

ORVILLE L. FREEMAN.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., February 28, 1967.

Re food to India committee hearing.

Hon. EUGENE V. ROSTOW,
Under Secretary of State,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. ROSTOW: I regret that time and the quorum bell caught me before I was in turn to ask questions of you while appearing as a witness before the Agriculture Committee today. At the permission of Mr. Gathings, Vice-Chairman of the committee, I am submitting my questions in writing and will appreciate your answers in writing for the record of the hearing.

I note your statement dealt in considerable detail concerning the recent elections in India:

1. Was our "Food for India" program brought about in timing to coincide with the recent elections in India? If so, isn't it a fact that we initiated the timing to encourage popular support for Mrs. Ghandi?

2. In your statement you praise democratic elections in India. Do you deny that the American wheat gift had bearing on the Indian elections? Now that the elections are over do you feel that the powerful minority will regard our proposed wheat plan as an interference and a detriment to their self-government?

3. At page 5 of your statement you indicate:

"There was also broad agreement that the India consortium under the World Bank could provide an effective systematic basis for organizing such an international effort."

Explain what this means. Are we helping a bank for monetary and credit control, or are we interested in feeding hungry individual human beings? Explain how a world bank can set up a distribution organization to get food to the people. If a bank is more advantageous than church and charitable organizations or the local governments within India, why was not the Bank of India used to set up the food line? Please explain what people or organizations will do the actual distribution to see that the food reaches the mouths of any hungry individuals.

4. Please name the members and the nationality of those who serve on the India consortium. By whom are they selected?

5. At pages 5, 6, and 7 of your statement you are constantly referring to India's "broad economic plans" in addition or excluding food production. What are these plans and by whom were they devised and by whom financed? Why does the Indian government regard these "broad economic plans" more important than feeding the people?

6. What is the role of the State Department in this matter? Is your concern with the welfare of the hungry people, or is it for a "balance of payments crisis"?

7. At page 18, you say:

"On the other hand, if we do not provide India with the foodgrain that the President has recommended, the Indian government would be forced to spend more hard currency on food to prevent widespread starvation. In order to do this, the Indian government would have to divert large amounts of hard currency, hundreds of millions of dollars, from its economic development plan. *This would undermine programs which the United States Government, other western government, and the World Bank have encouraged and supported.*"

With this testimony, are you not stating that India at this time has sufficient hard currency to buy whatever food is necessary to prevent starvation or hunger of its people? And that the only reason they or your agency prefer the gift of

\$190,000,000 worth of grain is to be able to save India's money for its own economic development plan in other affairs? Was this decision made by the people of India or by a wealthy industrialist minority?

8. With further reference to your statement, at page 18, I would like to ask: What are these programs which the U.S. government and the world bank have encouraged and which you now suggest require Americans to feed the people of India so that these programs can be paid for by India's money? Who are the "other Western governments" involved with the programs that you state we must not "undermine"?

I want your answer or specific comments as to whether or not we, the World Bank, or any other corporation, foundation or group is using the plight of India to build an economic empire.

Very truly yours,

JOHN R. RARICK,
Member of Congress.

Hon. JOHN R. RARICK,
House of Representatives.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN RARICK: I am writing in reply to your letter of February 28 in which you raise questions which time did not permit you to ask following my testimony before the House Agriculture Committee. It might be useful for me to state at the outset what I consider our objectives to be in undertaking our food program for India. The first objective is to feed hungry people for humanitarian reasons and to preserve political stability in the largest democracy in the world. The second reason is to promote economic development, of which agricultural development is an integral part, so that India can in time feed its own people without dependence on other countries. The following answers are numbered with reference to your questions:

1. Our Food for India program has been under way for several years and was not brought about to coincide with the recent elections in India. As far as this year's program is concerned, the Administration considered approaching Congress earlier, but decided to wait until Under Secretary Schnittker and I consulted with various other governments about the Indian food problem in the latter part of January. The timing was not related to India's domestic political developments.

2. We have not received detailed reports on the Indian elections. However, preliminary reports indicate that, in general, the Congress Party fared better in rural areas than in the cities. The fact that a very considerable part of the American wheat goes to the cities (where the Congress Party was quite generally repudiated) would suggest that it did not have a direct bearing on the Indian elections. Now that the elections are over, I do not feel that the seven principal minority parties will regard our proposed wheat plan as interference or as a detriment to self-government. Quite to the contrary, it is widely recognized in India by people of almost all political beliefs (I would exclude the Communists) that United States food supplies are essential for many millions of people.

3. The World Bank makes loans to India for economic development projects as it does to many other less developed countries of the world. In addition, it serves as chairman of the India Consortium and provides such staff support as the Consortium needs. Nations which belong to the India Consortium make loans for economic development to India. The World Bank holds meetings two or three times a year of the donor nations to discuss India's economic situation, terms of aid, and amounts of aid. Each nation belonging to the India Consortium, however, then conducts aid negotiations with India on a bilateral basis in accordance with the legislation of each country. We envisage that food aid will be handled similarly. We expect that the World Bank will call a meeting of donor nations, at which time they will discuss India's food requirements and will indicate what food or food-related aid they can make available. Each nation concerned will then conduct bilateral negotiations with India to carry out the intentions that it has already indicated at the Consortium meeting. In the case of United States food, the actual distribution of Title I food is handled by the Government of India and the Indian state governments which sell the food mainly through fair price shops; United States voluntary agencies distribute most of the Title II (and formerly Title III) food on a donational basis.

There is also the World Food Program which operates under the FAO and is not connected with the World Bank.

4. The member nations of the India Consortium are Austria, Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, the United States, and the IBRD/IDA. Each country selects its own delegate, and these delegates change from time to time. The United States is represented by the Assistant Administrator, Near East/South Asia of the Agency for International Development.

5. The objective of the broad economic plans to which I referred is the improvement of the welfare of the Indian people by expanding agricultural production, industry, education, health and other needed services. The improvement of agriculture ranks as the highest priority objective within the framework of these plans and almost a quarter of all development expenditures will be devoted to this objective. One of the objectives of these plans is to assure India self-sufficiency of food by 1971 or 1972. The achievement of this ambitious objective depends not only upon India's population being tided over with food aid in the meantime but it also requires support with the establishment in India of the necessary farm-related industries, such as fertilizer, pesticides, and farm implements that are needed to achieve this agricultural production target. The plans to which I refer are devised by the Indian government and approved by the Indian parliament. Our own assessment of the Indian government's plans for a coordinated attack on its agricultural and other developmental problems is that they are ambitious but feasible. These plans reflect the determination of the Indian government and of the Indian people to buckle down and get the job done and it is our judgment that they deserve our support.

6. The State Department is concerned with continued good relations with India. Food is an important element in this context as is the welfare of the hungry people at the present moment and also the welfare of people who will be hungry in future years if steps are not taken to improve India's agricultural production.

7. In addition to food, India needs fertilizer and pesticides in order to grow more food. India also needs roads, and tractors to build the roads, in order to get the food to the railways. Further, India needs railroads to get the food to the major cities and warehouses to hold the food, factories to build the railroads, and steel mills to build the steel required in the railroads. India also needs electric power to mill the rice and wheat and various kinds of fuel to cook the food. If India spent all of its available foreign exchange on food, grain would be piled high on the docksides, but it would not reach the people because it has to be distributed, prepared, and cooked before it can be eaten. Further, if India does not spend foreign exchange on fertilizer or on raw materials to make fertilizer, food production in India will drop, and India will need ever increasing imports of food to keep up with the growing population.

Foreign exchange allocations are made by officials in the Government of India and not by any special group.

8. The programs which the United States Government and the World Bank have encouraged include education, health and family planning transportation, industrialization, electrification, irrigation, and agriculture. The other Western governments involved in these programs are the members of the Consortium which I listed in answer to Question 4.

With reference to your final paragraph as to whether or not we, the World Bank, or any other group is using the plight of India to build an economic empire, I can assure you that we are not. We want India to become economically viable, and in order to make this possible, we are extending economic assistance in the form of loans and food.

I hope this letter has provided you with the information you wanted. If not, please write again.

Sincerely yours,

EUGENE V. ROSTOW,
Under Secretary for Political Affairs.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Miller.

Mr. MILLER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am wondering why the American Corn Millers Federation and Export Institute would be interested in this. It was stated a few minutes ago that the people from the World Bank are interested.

The whole corn would not be sent to India, as I understand it, but you would process it first. Is this correct?

Mr. TOLLEFSON. That is correct. The food that we have been discussing with you this morning is in the processed form, the milled form, of golden cornmeal. And as you know, that is a milled product, CSM which goes a step further in that it is processed and a high-protein low-cost food is derived from this. It is 9½ and 10 cents a pound, which is a very reasonably priced food.

Mr. MILLER. There is something beyond just starving children that we are talking about in this committee. You are interested in it because you would process, apparently, a number of tons of this which would be sent to India. I am trying to find out just exactly what is going on.

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Yes, sir. We are in the process now of processing considerable amounts of these foods and have been for a matter of a good many years—and with this CSM since September.

Mr. MILLER. Is there any special processing that is given to this type of corn? Let us say that we are using it to send to starving children—and we have heard this story many, many times—do these millers make any special rates to process this corn before sending it to India?

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Yes. We have a very competitive industry. The mills are listed here in the list I have submitted here. Some of the mills who have bid on CSM have been unsuccessful. They claim that the mills who are bidding successfully is something that they do not quite understand, because they claim that they cannot make it in terms of what the product costs and what they are offering in the way of price, but it is very, very close in its margin on these foods. We have other mills that will not bid on the export of golden cornmeal. They say that it is so low a price that they cannot meet their fixed costs, so that they do not bid on it at all.

Mr. MILLER. Would the millers still have the business, if the corn did not go to India? And the corn was milled, but was sold in this country?

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Could you elaborate a little on that question?

Mr. MILLER. Would the millers still have the business for this corn today and would they still have the business in the future? We are talking now about something which is getting away from the starvation of the children—we are talking about the hard cold facts of business—would they still have the business the next year or two from now?

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Yes. I think that the world population trends are such, looking toward—the year 2000 with an estimate of 7 billion people—double our present population—that the corn milling industry will continue to grow and we have expanding markets. We have opportunities in many areas. But this is a phase of it, a phase of our operation, only one phase—the export area—where we are expressing this support in terms of Government activity in the whole concept of food for peace on the war on hunger.

Mr. MILLER. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you.

Mr. WAMPLER. This question probably should have been placed before the committee yesterday, but I didn't have the opportunity then. I do not mean to be facetious when I pose this question. Do you not feel that, perhaps, our benevolent Government ought to help India in a rodent-control program, rather than in a feeding program?

Mr. TOLLEFSON. That question, I believe, was asked by one of your colleagues, Mr. Goodling, in a slightly different form yesterday. While we would not be experts in the way of responding to that, it certainly, would be appropriate for the Department of Agriculture and the AID officials to respond to this. I understand there are programs underway to help in the way of preservation of these grains and processed foods, once they arrive there.

Mr. Castillo has visited some of the ports. I think you saw evidence of—did you not, when you were there?

Mr. CASTILLO. I was in one of the CARE warehouses in Bombay about 3 weeks ago to verify that these foods are moving out of the warehouse and not staying there. And, also to check on the condition of the bags as they arrive at the port. I was in the warehouse for a total of about 5 hours, I think, and to be quite candid I saw no evidence of rodents there. I saw no evidence of bags that had been attacked by rodents. That may be attributable to the fact that these particular shipments were leaving as we were standing there. They had just gotten off the vessel and were leaving to go up into the drought area in Bihar, but I saw no evidence of rodent infestation. I would presume that is, because, at least, in this particular warehouse there are efficient means of rodent control.

Mr. WAMPLER. That was your personal observation?

Mr. CASTILLO. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. May I add this to your statement?

I think that Mr. Dole had the same experience.

We visited some ports and warehouses at some length and saw no rats anywhere or any evidence of any damage by rats. That is not to say that they do not have rats in India. Obviously they do. You, probably, would not see a rat down on my farm, but I know that they are there. I know that they are doing damage. I think that they would have the same situation as that in India. However, there is not any large-scale evidence of rodent damage.

Mr. GOODLING. I pointed out yesterday that in India there are 10 times the number of rats than there are humans. I said further that the rats are definitely eating some of the food supplies that are going there. I asked the Secretary of Agriculture whether we have a rodent-control program, and he told me rather half-heartedly that we do, but the way that he answered my question I do not think it has been effective.

The CHAIRMAN. I can only speak from what I saw there. I saw no rodent damage whatsoever. I did not see one single rat. Did you?

Mr. DOLE. No.

The CHAIRMAN. I did not see one.

Mr. DOLE. And I was looking for rats.

The CHAIRMAN. We saw none. I know that we have them at home, although you do not see them. I do not think that you'd ordinarily see them. I am not trying to say that there were not rats over there, because I am sure that there were, but, for example, if you were in Waco, and you were walking down the street, you would not see any rats.

Mr. GOODLING. I submitted an editorial for the record yesterday on that subject.

The CHAIRMAN. I know that they are on my farm, and I know, perhaps, that there are more than 10 rats per person. However, I could not identify them and take a census of them.

Mr. WAMPLER. I think it is a serious problem over there. It has caused me to have some serious reservations on this proposition. I would like some evidence from the Department of Agriculture that this is not the case.

The CHAIRMAN. It is just like it is in the United States. You can say that you did not see any. Bob and I did not see any, but that does not prove that there were not any rats there. We are quite certain that there were, but I did not see a bit of evidence that they were destroying any grain or cutting any sacks. I do know that I could find that same condition in my own State. However, I do not see any evidence of them. The rat situation in all areas that we visited, certainly, is not out of line with what it is in the United States.

Mr. GOODLING. Is that not due, perhaps, to the fact that they showed you the things that they wanted you to see; is that not it?

The CHAIRMAN. We picked out the sheds. We were the ones that picked out the things to look into.

Mr. PRICE. I think that would be in an area where there would be large amounts of them, where the food is growing.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that there is no question about that. I am sure that they have the same sort of situation in India that we have here.

Mr. WAMPLER. That is, perhaps, what I had more reference to, rather than the destruction of grain by the rats. The fact of the matter is that the rats are destroying a large percentage of the food that is grown. And a program of rodent control in India might alleviate that situation.

Mr. TOLLEFSON. I think that this is an area where private foundations may make an effort beyond what the Government does and out of these may come efforts from the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations to support programs of this kind. I know that most of my relatives are farmers in the Midwest. They have worked on this problem for years. An they still have the rodent problem, as Congressman Poage referred to he has on his own farm.

The CHAIRMAN. We thank you very much for your appearance here.

Our next witness will be Rev. Richard McFarland, of Dumbarton Methodist Church, Georgetown, Washington, D.C.

Is he here?

(No response.)

If not, we have the next witness listed for tomorrow.

The committee will stand in recess until 10:30 in the morning.

(Whereupon, at 12:05 p.m., the committee adjourned, to reconvene at 10:30 a.m. Thursday, March 2, 1967.)

EMERGENCY FOOD ASSISTANCE TO INDIA

THURSDAY, MARCH 2, 1967

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE,
Washington, D.C.

The committee met, pursuant to recess, at 10:40 a.m., in room 1301, Longworth House Office Building, Washington, D.C., Hon. W. R. Poage (chairman) presiding.

Present: Representatives Poage (presiding), Gathings, Abernethy, Abbitt, Jones of Missouri, Purcell, Foley, de la Garza, Vigorito, Jones of North Carolina, Nichols, Montgomery, Brasco, Rarick, Belcher, Teague, Mrs. May, Dole, Wampler, Miller, Burke, Mathias, Zwach, Kleppe, Price, and Myers.

Also present: Christine S. Gallagher, clerk; Hyde H. Murray, assistant counsel; Francis LeMay, staff consultant; and Fowler C. West, assistant staff consultant.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

Our first witness this morning is Mr. Harry L. Graham, of the National Grange. We will be delighted to hear from you now, Mr. Graham.

STATEMENT OF HARRY L. GRAHAM, LEGISLATIVE REPRESENTATIVE, THE NATIONAL GRANGE

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. Chairman, and members of the committee. I am willing to paraphrase this testimony as much as I can, in the interest of time.

First of all, I want to state to you, personally, Mr. Chairman, how greatly we like to see you here as chairman of this committee and the high hopes we have for the committee under your leadership, and I feel that I no doubt speak for the rest of the committee, that in our history and in our knowledge of the men who have come into this chairmanship nobody has ever come in better prepared to be the chairman as the distinguished Congressman from Texas.

This testimony which I will give this morning is one that has troubled me more than anything that I have written or have ever delivered before this committee. I have three relationships that are very dear to me, and they come into conflict. I do not know how I will say this, but I think that I would like to order my life in such a way that I could say that I am a Christian first, and that I am an American second, and then I have some responsibilities to the farmers.

This subject we are dealing with this morning is one where all of these values that we have were called into an accounting which is very difficult to do, so I am going to do the best that I can. I am go-

ing to raise some questions that I am sure the committee has thought about, and I am sure ones that those who have been in India are very well aware of, and then we will leave it to your good judgment, as we always do.

In the first place, I would like to say that the President is wise in asking for this review. The Food and Agricultural Act of 1965 as it was written into Public Law 480, was written in in an entirely different context than the one in which we hold these hearings this morning. It was concerned with our carryover and dealt with some of the projected food aids that are needed in the world.

I think that we have done a good job with the program that we have had so far. Our trade dollars have expanded to the amount of relief we have programed into hungry nations is phenomenal, 16,500,000 tons of grain last year, 8.9 million tons beyond the commercial sales into India alone.

The one place where we have had difficulty, and I am very well aware of this, is getting anybody to help us to carry this load in any proportion at all. We offered \$350 million for the world food program 3 years ago, and on a matching basis. If my memory is correct, the rest of the world raised about \$118 million.

The next year it was felt that we were losing our interest in the world food program when we cut allocations. However, some of us who have been in these international conferences have assured others that we are willing to match them at any time in almost any amount. And this has been consistent with what the Government has said. We have not been able to get the matching on the other side. This year we have received some substantial gifts from Canada and Australia, and from the Soviet Union which has contributed 200,000 tons of grain, which, against a 3-billion-bushel crop, in our judgment, has not made a very substantial contribution. The Australians are doing better.

And then we come into the consortium, which was organized by the World Bank, and this is one more progressive step taken in this war on hunger, but I am one of these people who feel that once you take away the additional gifts from the Canadians, on the part of this consortium, when you take that out of it, I do not see any opportunity at all that the rest of the world is going to fulfill the conditions which we have set for the granting of this additional aid to a very needy and hungry country.

One of the places I am in difficulty is where I believe that the attempt that the Government has made to get this additional participation by other countries, which is long overdue, that they have made as good an attempt as we have asked them to make and I think that they are to be congratulated for the hard line they have taken, but then we come up against the other side of the coin and, that is, what really is happening in India?

We have had some fairly good connections in terms of our international relations, and the thing that bothers me is the 10-million-ton deficit on which this whole concept was based. It was based on figures that are out of date and they have been out of date for a couple of months. There are new crop estimates and they are not even new—they are almost a month old—in any case that the Indian crop, instead of being 88.5 million tons will only be 87.6. In the last month there

still has been no rain in that part of India, and our guess is that it will be down closer to 72 million than it will be to 76 million.

Now, this is partly because of last year's rice crop failure which caused them to plant their wheat early, because they plowed up their rice, and went into wheat. The wheat crop will be harvested earlier this year in India which means that the critical lack of rain becomes more critical because they are going to be in the harvest fields within 5 weeks at the outside—some of them may be a little sooner than that—because as you wheat farmers know in dryfarming your wheat ripens a little faster. And so we are up against a need which is, in our judgment, about 4 million tons greater than is indicated in the President's message.

This brings us up against another question, and it is: How far can you cut the diet of those people? I do not know whether you felt like I did when I was sick at heart when I heard Mr. Rostow talk about increasing grain ration from 4 to 6 ounces a day, and this in an area that has been going on a diet of 500 to 800 calories a day. You cannot drop it very far. A drop of 100 calories a day is starvation at the best. And we have as many people involved in this as live west of the Mississippi in the United States who are in a position where they may starve to death literally on the basis of what we do here in this committee and in this country. I think we are all right in terms of our commitment up to the first of May, and then their crop will come in. After that, the rest of this year is going to be pretty rough, especially in the latter stages of the year.

I hope that we do not get ourselves in a position where we have to do some uneconomic things in order to move our grain into India next year, in the same way that we are moving it this year. I think that we are going to need just about the same amount of grain, or maybe a little more.

I was in Seattle the first of the year and watched them loading the *Manhattan*, 200,000 tons of grain into the *Manhattan*. The captain told us that they had deadheaded back from India, instead of bringing back 100,000 tons of oil, which would make the trip economically feasible—rather, they had come back with only ballast, so great was the demand for this ship to move another 100,000 tons of wheat to India.

These are the kind of situations, I think, that we have to plan ahead for enough in our commitments so that we do not get boxed into them, because it is, certainly, a little bit ridiculous to be running the second biggest ship in the world one-half way around the world in ballast when they could have been carrying oil out of Asia or some other place where we get oil.

Having said that about the Indian crop, then let us look at what our own situation is. Assuming that we will have a carryover of about 400 million bushels—and, incidentally, I checked and double-checked and had other people to check who think they know about this, so I think that the figures will stand up—assuming that we have a carryover of about 400 million bushels, and that, as a result of the 26-percent increase in planting this last year in winter wheat, and the same percentage increase available in spring wheat, it is apparent that we will have, unless circumstances are greatly altered, the largest crop in all our history of somewhere in the neighborhood of 1.6 billion bushels, although some estimates have run as high as 1.8 billion

bushels. But I think that the 1.6 billion is one that still the experts are holding to. This will give us a total of available supply of wheat of 2 billion bushels.

If we were to assume a 30-million-bushel increase in domestic use, we would have a domestic disappearance of about 700 million bushels. And I think, as to the 30 million bushels, that that is an optimistic assumption. If we were to assume even a 10-million-bushel increase in exports per dollars, we would have sales of about 350 million bushels. And our total and domestic uses, therefore, would be 1,050 million bushels, leaving us with about 950 million bushels.

With available U.S. stocks of 950 million bushels, even if we met all of the remainder of the total Indian need of 12.5 million tons indicated as of March 1, 1967, which is indicated in the reports of yesterday which would be required, this could give us a drawdown for the market year of an additional 225 million bushels for a net carryover of 725 million bushels, assuming that one-third of this was grains other than wheat.

Even if we met only the projected level of exports on a matching basis, and assuming an additional 200 million bushels of wheat for other relief and concessional sales, the carryover would remain about 550 million bushels of wheat.

If the Indian need increased still further we could still devote 150 million more bushels to relief and maintain the present U.S. carryover level of 400 million bushels. This is the reason for our communication, Mr. Chairman, to you on February 3, pointing out that the President's message would appear to leave the U.S. grain prices considerably exposed. And if you would permit, I would like to insert a copy of that letter into the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, that may be done.
(The letter dated February 3, 1967, follows:)

FEBRUARY 3, 1967.

HON. W. R. POAGE,
Chairman, Committee on Agriculture,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: The President's message to the Congress on "Food for India" presents a grave threat to the present price levels of wheat unless the Congress considers the request as a bare minimum.

The level of food aid exports of wheat to India outlined in the President's message to the Congress contains a serious threat both to the adequacy of minimum diet requirements for the people of India and also to the wheat price levels to American farmers.

Clearly, the projections are far below India's projected minimum requirements, even if the other nations responded to the reasonable U.S. requests for assistance in the food aid program, which still remains doubtful.

To expect the Indians to reap immediate results from increased inputs into their agriculture is unrealistic, especially since their major problem of production is a shortage of rainfall.

The result of the optimistic expectations of food aid assistance and increased Indian yields now projects U.S. commitments at about four million tons less than the projections used to justify the second 15 per cent planting allotment increase last fall.

The projections of U.S. wheat production, plus the bumper crop in Russia and favorable weather reports in the Southern hemisphere, all point up the fact that the President's proposal should be considered only as a minimum commitment, and standby authority should be established promptly to increase the shipments to the level of last fall's projections immediately should the need continue after May 1, 1967. Failure to do this will not only leave U.S. wheat prices in an extremely exposed position, but the increased inputs of U.S. farmers into an ex-

panded acreage presents grave hazards to the integrity of U.S. farm investments due to decreased income.

Leaders of both parties should be aware of the possible political implications of this proposal, both domestically and internationally.

The U.S. Commitment to the War on Hunger if those who are able to help us with the burden refuse to do so, should receive the same high priority and exemption from balanced budget considerations as does the Vietnam War, which is not conditioned either on the willingness of the Vietnamese to help themselves or the willingness of our friendly allies to assist us in our chosen task and much heavier burden.

Indeed, the international political benefit of a vigorous War on Hunger probably outweigh those of our military commitment, important as they are.

With kindest regards, I remain,

Respectfully yours,

HARRY L. GRAHAM.

MR. GRAHAM. Previous experience has shown that 600-million-bushel carryover raised the market price or projected level of carryover, leaves the market price of wheat at the support level. This would be contrary to the stated position of the administration during the fall of 1966 that policy would be pursued to hold the price of wheat to substantially above the support level. We are not at this time questioning the intention or the integrity of the administration in relationship to this stated policy. However, we think the time has come to suggest some positive action that can be taken by the administration to insure farmers against this kind of a price collapse.

Our first suggestion to this committee is that this committee and its counterpart in the Senate, if it deems necessary under the existing law, authorize the President to pursue food distribution policies providing a minimum amount of nutrition necessary for the starving people of India with due consideration being given to our own national security. The present 750 million bushels is not a threat to our security, but, rather, a desirable carryover level.

Our second suggestion is that at least 200 million bushels should be purchased during the first 3 months of the new crop year, and preferably as much as 300 million bushels. This should be set aside for use only for worldwide famine and relief purposes.

This, of course, is only in relationship to the bill that you are talking about today, but it does have some relationship and would require new legislation.

The third suggestion is that the United States keep the close-as-possible watch for adverse developments in the weather situation in India and Pakistan—we have not heard very much about Pakistan, but they are in trouble, also—that purchase authorization to permit them to begin to negotiate for the needed food grains be issued at the earliest possible time. Now, timing is of particular importance in this, because the U.S. farm price could be severely depressed by the prospect of a 1.6 billion bushel crop being dumped on the market at the beginning of a new year with a possibility of a carryover running as high as 800 million bushels for the next crop year. It could also be equally important for the Government in terms of saving money if its purchase authorizations were issued at the time when the crop traditionally brings the lowest price on the market; namely at harvest time. The failure to delay in this kind of a program could create an economic disaster here in the United States.

We would point out to the members of this committee that it was precisely this kind of a vigorous program and issuance of purchase

authorizations at the close of the 1965-66 crop year and the beginning of the 1967-68 crop year that kept the market demand price structure relatively strong through the first 21½ months of the crop year. We ought to learn from experience, that is why we are saying we ought to do, basically, the same thing this year.

This would call for an additional appropriation of about a half billion dollars. I do not know—it is hard to separate some of these budget figures out, to tell what they have in mind this next year. Even if it did take that much, it would be, in our judgment, that we could send enough to keep 75 to 100 million people alive. We could send as much as we could in 3 days. That is to put it into one perspective.

The other problem which, I think, is very real, is the greatest danger that we have of a food crisis which cannot be handled, the continued pursuit of a cheap food policy. Nothing could cause a greater threat to an inadequate production of foodstuffs for the world than the collapse of our domestic wheat prices. It would rapidly be felt by the producers in every country of the world, with the exception of the common Market with its high protective tariffs it has thrown around its farmers.

The basic reason for the failure of the farmers in the developing countries to keep pace in their production with an increase in population, with the exception of those areas that are hit by a disastrous drought, as has been the case in both India and Pakistan, has been the fact that the returns for their production have been insufficient to stimulate additional inputs into their agricultural plants. For us to expect the Indian farmer to increase his output for wheat in the face of a declining world price, or the availability of wheat from the United States at a support level, is the height of folly. And, Mr. Chairman, we were well aware of your interest in substituting wheat for cotton in India. I think that one of the basic ways of getting this done, and done so that it is meaningful is to be sure that the price of wheat is high enough so that they do not lose too much for not producing cotton, and this, I think, is where this whole basic price relationship comes into the whole world structure so quickly that we simply must not avoid paying close attention to what is happening to American wheat prices this year, and what could happen to them.

The key to the world food crisis is production, and the key to production is price. The failure of the United States to do everything it can to increase the price for the American farmer, which in turn sets a minimum price for the farmers of the rest of the world could be disastrous for the world economy. It would lead to the Western World being an island of abundance in the midst of a sea of misery and starvation, causing wars of conquests, not from greed, but out of need. In the final analysis, the very security of our country is going to depend to a large extent upon the wisdom we exhibit as we cope with the problem confronting this committee today.

And in closing, just a word from Russell Davenport, where he talks about the ideals of our country, and he says that all of the nations of the world may know that the vital distinction of freedom is not to limit, but to share, and freedom here means freedom of choice.

Mr. Chairman, thank you for this time.

(The complete prepared statement of Harry L. Graham follows:)

STATEMENT OF HARRY L. GRAHAM, LEGISLATIVE REPRESENTATIVE,
THE NATIONAL GRANGE

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, before beginning the testimony on this extremely important and far-reaching proposal coming from the President to the Congress, and to which this Committee has already responded in the introduction of legislation bearing upon this message, may I be permitted to express for the Grange officially our congratulations to the distinguished gentleman from Texas who has assumed the Chairmanship of this Committee which has in its jurisdiction the deliberations and decisions upon which depend the life and death—not only of economic systems—but of millions of people in this world.

We have often expressed, both privately and publicly, our conviction that rarely has a man assumed the chairmanship of this committee with such a broad and profound knowledge of the problems of American as well as world agriculture, with such a deep dedication to the welfare of his own country, concern for the legitimate needs of unfortunate people around the world, and with such high respect from the Members of both sides of the aisle in the U.S. House of Representatives.

We congratulate the Committee for its good fortune; we are comforted as a Nation by the assurance that the work of this Committee is in good hands. I have found working with Chairman Poage a combination of experience that has brought the highest satisfaction to me personally.

We look forward to working with all of you objectively, constructively, and toward the improvement of the general welfare of these 50 states, and, as a nation, in taking our rightful and responsible position as the world's greatest power in assisting the developing and unfortunate nations of this world obtain the same type of prosperity which has been our own great good fortune.

Since this present crisis began to develop in its more critical stages by the failure of the monsoons in India during 1965 when India's food grain production dropped 16 million tons in the 1965-1966 crop year to a level of 72 million tons, the Grange, its distinguished National Master, and your witness today have all carried a heavy burden in our hearts for these unfortunate people. I participated in the first of the national conferences on World Hunger and U.S. Food Policy, as well as being one of the advisers to the FAO biennial conference in Rome in 1965. We have worked as closely as possible with the Freedom from Hunger Foundation, and Mr. Newsom and I served on its Board of Directors and shared its problems. At the present time, the Master of the National Grange, Mr. Herschel D. Newsom, serves as the Chairman of the U.S. World Food Crisis Committee—the large, overall organization of private, agricultural, industrial and philanthropic groups. We are dedicated to finding some of the solutions to these extremely perplexing problems. We know that this concern has been equally shared by Members of this distinguished Committee who have, on a firsthand basis, witnessed the problems being faced, not only in India but in developing nations around the world.

We have read and re-read the most excellent message which the President of the United States sent to Congress concerning this problem. Although we believe that there is adequate authority in the Executive Branch of the Government, included in the Food for Freedom Section of the Agricultural Act of 1965, we respect the President and express our gratitude to him for referring this issue back to the Congress because the situation in 1967 is not the same as the one in 1965 when we were so actively considering the legislation now on the books.

In 1965, the wheat bill of 1964 had been in effect only a year and the first year's crop to be harvested under this legislation was yet ahead of us. The mountain of foodstuffs available to us, not only in cereals but also in dairy products and the oilseed crops, was there for the distribution by our Government through its own programs, its cooperation with private relief agencies, and the commercial sales to our regular customers abroad.

The availability of this reserve of food stocks accumulated by the American taxpayers was an immense and incalculable blessing to the world. Without our willingness to have distributed these commodities which we had considered to be in surplus to nations which had exhausted their financial resources, the starvation in India alone would have been in excess of the total population of the United States west of Chicago.

I do not know when I have been so angry in an international conference as I was last year in London when someone suggested that our gifts of food to the hungry nations of the world were only in enlightened self-interest from the stand-

point of market development. Although this has been true in some instances, especially where our programing went to industrial nations whose production had been dislocated by war, it was not true in terms of India and Pakistan and the multitude of small nations who have been the beneficiaries of the generosity of the American people. We believe that this contribution should be measured in the terms under which it has been given, and we think the terms were in keeping with the highest traditions of our Judao-Christian heritage. I have received deep-seated satisfaction in seeing my country respond to the needs of other peoples in proportion to their needs and our capacity to share with them in the gifts God has so richly bestowed upon us as a nation.

The program we hammered out with much difficulty in 1965 has worked and most of the problems we faced at that point are no longer with us, especially in terms of wheat and feed grains. Our trade for dollars has expanded until last year we had three agricultural export crops selling for more than a billion dollars and our net balance of trade was \$2.5 billion—an amount almost identical to our total commercial sales in 1958-1959.

At the same time, we had programed into a number of hungry nations, 16.5 million tons of grains, excluding rice, and into India alone 8.9 million tons of grains beyond our commercial sales, using a bridge of ships numbering 600 to forge a veritable lifeline between the granaries of the United States and the starving millions of India.

Our efforts have met with failure in one particular area, and that was our inability to get the other nations of the world to assume a reasonable share of the responsibility for providing for the minimum food requirements for the developing nations. In 1964 we allocated, as I remember, \$350 million for these programs on a matching basis with all other countries of the world. They came only up to about a third of this allocation. We reduced our allocation of money in the next year, and still all of the nations of the world together failed to match us in our offers for world food aid.

It was only during the past year that substantial progress has been made, as was outlined in the President's message, but the results are far short of the critical needs of India for the coming year.

We congratulate those in the Administration who have worked so arduously in this attempt to develop a more equitable sharing of the relief burdens of the world, even as we have tried to do the same in our own way in the international conferences and contacts with which we have had a part.

The gifts from Canada and Australia and the Soviet Union are certainly a great improvement over what had been received in the past. The consortium for Indian aid, organized under the World Bank, has given us some reason for hoping for increased success in this area. We should still remind ourselves, however, that a considerable share of the load of the World Bank still might be carried by the United States as we have in the past.

We appreciated and approved of the efforts to cause the Government of India to increase her inputs into this strategic area and have been pleased at knowing this has been done. The results of the election just completed in India are not clear at this point, but it is noteworthy that the Minister of Agriculture Mr. C. Subramaniam, who we consider one of the most aggressive and capable of their ministers and the best Minister of Agriculture since their independence, was not returned to the Parliament. We hope that this can be interpreted as an indication that the people of India are demanding yet more increased inputs into the agricultural sector, not only in production but in the whole distributive process which has had its shortcomings in their system.

In brief, we heartily endorse the Administration's efforts to increase the participation of the Government of India and of the other governments of the world in the efforts to solve this problem of crisis proportions for that great sub-continent.

We are well aware of the delicacy of the situation we face and the ramifications of the negotiations in which our government has been engaged, both with individual nations and in the Kennedy Round. What we feel we must say at this time is not to be interpreted in any way as a disagreement with our government or anything less than an enthusiastic endorsement of the efforts of this Administration to conclude successful negotiations. Rather, it is an attempt to foresee future crisis developments and to provide for them in advance by programs properly designed and equitably borne by the producing nations of the world and their contemporaries in the importing industrial nations.

Our first observation is that, according to information reaching us through private sources—and I would remind you that the Master of the National

Grange until last May was the President of the International Federation of Agricultural Products of which Indian farm organizations are members, and still sits on its Board of Directors—is that the situation in India has deteriorated considerably during the past month. The Indian wheat crop was sown a little early because of the failure of the rice crop, and we should remember that there are two crops grown on this land in favorable years. The rice crop is grown during the rainy season, and the wheat crop is grown during the drier season.

As a result, the harvest time for Indian wheat is moved up this year into early April, only a matter of five or six weeks from now. The projected Indian need of 10 to 12 million tons of food grains, which were rock bottom estimates at best, have now been increased by 2 to 2½ million tons, although this information was not published by the Indian Government during an election campaign in which its food policy was a major campaign issue. There is almost no possibility of an Indian crop beyond 76 million tons—even if it started raining tomorrow. Indeed, there is more of a possibility that this estimate will need to be further reduced and may again be as low as the 72 million tons which were harvested during 1956 and 1966. It should be noted that this reduction in production is affecting their feed grains on about the same basis as it is wheat.

During the calendar year of 1966, there were arrivals in India of 8 million tons of food grains from the United States, plus 2.2 million tons from other sources.

Thus far in 1966, the U.S. has allocated 1,600 thousand tons; Canada, 185 thousand tons; 200 thousand tons from the USSR; and 150 thousand tons from Australia; for a total of 2,135 thousand tons. According to our information, Canada has added to her present allocation by increasing her offer to 850 thousand tons. This is a commitment of 4.8 million tons, counting the President's commitment of 2 million tons at the first of February.

The net deficit, if the 10 million ton figure was correct, then remains 5.2 million tons if we consider the extra grant from Canada in our figures rather than as a part of the consortium. It is to this 5.2 million ton target of the consortium that the President has asked for authority to offer an additional 3 million tons provided "it is appropriately matched by other countries."

This then raises a serious question as to where this matching grain is coming from if we are expecting an additional 2.6 million tons to be added and matched by the U.S. just to get to the 10 million ton target—no longer an adequate figure.

It is doubtful that we can expect the Canadians to make much more of a contribution. The Australians, with one of the largest wheat crops in history, should and we would hope will increase their contribution by enough to bring it up to a half million tons—another 350 thousand. Even if they bring their contribution up to 600 thousand total from the 150 thousand tons already committed, this leaves 2 million tons to be accounted for, and the only place to account for it is from gifts of capital and cash from the industrial countries or increased allocation from the USSR.

There is no great enthusiasm for hoping the USSR will substantially increase its contribution to bring this matching share of the consortium up to the U.S. offer. There is considerable evidence available that the Russian crop will revert to its 1964–1965 level from its bumper crop of 1965–1966. Preliminary guesses are that the production in the virgin lands which was excellent last year will be down by a third this year. This is about par for the marginal type of land and weather involved with this virgin land. This certainly will make the Russians a bit hesitant about increased commitments. The possibility of the continued high commercial demands from Russia, as well as the same possibility from China due to the developing chaos there, indicates that the pressure of commercial needs will have some adverse effect on the generosity of both Russia and Australia, and for what it is worth, from Argentina. In addition, Western European crop estimates are no more than average in production—if that high.

Consequently, we are faced with the probability that our generous offer in the President's message to provide another 3 million tons on a matching basis, or at least if the other countries of the world would add 2.7 million tons—less the increase already provided by the Canadians of 565 thousand tons—is very remote and probably highly unlikely. It would mean that generally the countries of Western Europe would have to raise and supply enough money to purchase 2.7 million tons of grain, and we have seen no indication that such a proposition is going to be accepted by Western Europe, except on more or less of a token basis.

If you add the increased needs that India is going to have on the basis of the most recent weather reports, which indicate a crop of only 76 million tons, the United States is left with the choice of providing about 5 million tons (192.5 million bushels) of grain or watching 70 million people we have already kept alive, simply and slowly starve to death. We need to remember that this many people have been almost on a famine basis for the last year with caloric intake so extremely low that the drop of another 150 calories a day is the difference between life and death.

At this point, I would like to quote from ARYA SWAPATRA—one of the most widely circulated farm magazines in India—an article entitled "Food Grain Imports" from the December 3 issue.

"The Government of India had hoped to get assurances and agreement from the United States Government for about twelve million tonnes of foodgrains—chiefly wheat—for the year 1967. There is already an urgent request to the United States President for 2 million tonnes. Of the agreed supplies of 12 million tonnes for 1966, perhaps ten million tonnes have been shipped. The sudden stoppage of further shipment by the U.S. President has once again caused considerable discussion about the relation between India and the United States.

"The crop situation has certainly become bad with the failure of the monsoon in several parts of the country and the kharif crops prospects are not at all bright. These are facts which cannot be hidden and are as obvious to the United States Government as to ourselves.

"If cannot be the case that the United States Government wants to stop giving assistance—which is more commercial than free gifts—but there is considerable force in the U.S. Administration's belief that India should choose not to depend exclusively on the United States alone.

"Both Canada and the Soviet Union—the Soviet Union has had a record harvest—are certainly likely to make grain supplies available and certainly the Government of India has made the necessary requests. The whole problem is really about making payments in some way or other. These details will naturally be worked out but it is necessary to point out that the Government of India has not so far been able to make its commitments to maintain availability of foodgrains in the country clear enough. There are always doubts about the quantities needed in particular states and there are variations in the administration with regard to procurement, rationing etc.

"The tragedy of it all is that we have had to make a miserable example of ourselves because in the opinion of the U.S. Government we have really not pursued policies and programmes which would have resulted in substantial increase in our agricultural production. This is not a new development and it is even today less seriously realised than is necessary that this criticism of Indian agricultural policies is largely true.

"If it is to be conceded that a long term definite programme for agricultural development has to be worked out and on that basis we have to arrange for imports of foodgrains, there is certainly considerable scope for useful discussions between U.S. authorities and the Indian Government. Bringing about conditions and facilities for vast improvements in agricultural yields in the country is not the same thing as, say, agreeing to set up a mammoth steel plant here or there in this country.

"There is actually recognition in the United States as well as elsewhere that developing countries, though largely only agricultural, are likely to have to be net importers of foodgrains in the initial stages of their development. Only there has got to be satisfaction also that agriculture is not on that account neglected.

"The time is past when we could discuss if agriculture had been neglected at all in our plans. We have to proceed on a clear understanding of what can now be done. It would appear that the U.S. government is quite willing to assist and in spite of apparently insoluble ideological differences between India and the United States, the U.S. is willing to be of considerable assistance. A more business-like discussion so to say, face to face is essential and must be taken on hand before long. It would be wrong to allow the impression to be gathered that the United States Government is forcing the Government of India to do things that it does not like. Unfortunately, it is not sufficiently understood that urgency of supplies of foodgrains cannot be mitigated by discussions about what policies have failed and what policies would succeed. Indo-U.S. relations should not be allowed to be strained by temporary moods of the U.S. President or by exhibitions in this country of antipathy to U.S."

It is important for us, as well as the people of India, to remember that despite a considerably larger input of resources into the agricultural sector, these do not substitute for rain. Any irrigation plan to substitute for the lack of available moisture during the last two years, is many years in the future.

The question facing the Government of the United States, and especially this Committee at the present time, is whether or not we have the wheat in sufficient quantities to meet these needs, and whether we are willing to commit our resources to see that a sufficient quantity of wheat is delivered to prevent the mass starvation that seems to be in the offing.

With this in mind, let us look at our own situation. Assuming that we will have a carryover of about 400 million bushels, and that, as a result of the 26 per cent increase in planting last year in winter wheat and the same percentage increase available in spring wheat, it is apparent that we will have, unless circumstances are greatly altered, the largest crop in all our history of somewhere in the neighborhood of 1.6 billion bushels, although some estimates have run as high as 1.8 billion bushels. This will give us a total of available supply of wheat of 2 billion bushels.

If we were to assume a 30 million bushel increase in domestic use, we would have a domestic disappearance of about 700 million bushels. If we were to assume even a 10 million bushel increase in exports for dollars, we would have sales of about 350 million bushels. Our total domestic and commercial uses, therefore would be 1,050 million bushels, leaving us with about 950 million bushels.

With available U.S. stocks of 950 million bushels, even if we met all the remainder of the total Indian needs of 12.5 million tons indicated as of March 1, 1967, this could give us a draw down for the market year of an additional 225 million bushels for a net carryover of 725 million bushels, assuming that one-third of this was grains other than wheat.

Even if we met only the projected level of exports on a matching basis, and assuming an additional 200 million bushels of wheat for other relief and concessional sales, the carryover would remain about 550 million bushels of wheat.

If the Indian need increases still further, we could still devote 150 million more bushels to relief and maintain the present U.S. carryover level of 400 million bushels.

In case the maximum possible need of India should arise, it is probable that we would indeed commit additional grain sorghums as well as a possibility that we might, and could, commit some rice for this same feeding program—although this is a more expensive way of doing the job that must be done.

This all adds up to the justification of our communication to the Chairman of this distinguished Committee of February 3, pointing out that the President's message would appear to leave the U.S. grain prices considerably exposed. I should like to insert a copy of that letter in the record at the present time.

Our previous experience has shown that a 600 million bushel carryover, or projected level of carryover, leaves the market price of wheat at the support level. This would be contrary to the stated position of the Administration during the fall of 1966 that policies would be pursued to hold the price of wheat substantially above the support level. We are not, at this time, questioning the intention nor the integrity of the Administration in relationship to this stated policy. However, we think the time has come to suggest some positive actions that can be taken by the Administration to insure farmers against this kind of a price collapse.

Our first suggestion is that this Committee and its counterpart in the Senate, if it deems necessary under the existing law, authorize the President to pursue food distribution policies providing a minimum amount of nutrition necessary for the starving people of India with due consideration being given to our own national security. In our judgment, the present 400 million bushel carryover is not a threat to our security, but rather a desirable carryover level.

Our second suggestion is that at least 200 million bushels should be purchased during the first three months of the new crop year, and preferably as much as 300 million bushels. This should be set aside for use only for world-wide famine and relief purposes.

The third suggestion is that the U.S. keep the closest possible watch for adverse developments in the weather situation in India and Pakistan, and that purchase authorizations to permit them to begin to negotiate for the needed food grains be issued at the earliest possible time. This is particularly important for U.S. farm prices which could be severely depressed by the prospect of a

1.6 billion bushel crop being dumped on the market at the beginning of a new year with a possibility of a carryover running as high as 800 million bushels for the next crop year. It could also be equally important for the government in terms of saving money if its purchase authorizations were issued at the time when the crop traditionally brings the lowest price on the market—namely at harvest time.

We can assure the Members of the Congress and the Executive Branch of the Government that a delay in this kind of a program could create an economic disaster here in the United States. We think it only fair to point out that, if we are reading the sentiment of American farmers correctly, failure to move into the market and protect the prices the farmers have developed with great sacrifice would not be a very popular course of action. We believe that it is a matter of prudence and wisdom and that these suggestions should be carried out forthwith to protect the U.S. against its inability to meet its international demands and commitments at a time of extreme emergency.

We would point out to the Members of this Committee that it was precisely this kind of a vigorous program and issuance of purchase authorizations at the close of the 1965-1966 crop year and the beginning of the 1967-1968 crop year that kept the market demand and price structure relatively strong through the first two-and-one-half months of the crop year.

This would call for an additional appropriation of about a half-billion dollars. In the light of our expenditures to protect a much smaller nation from a communist takeover, an additional expenditure of this size seems to be amply justified, and, I believe, would be supported by the majority of both parties.

We would remind this distinguished committee of another fact which should be quite obvious but which seems to be forgotten in much of the discussion about the relationship of American agriculture and that of the developing world food crisis. The greatest danger we have of ending up in a food crisis which cannot be handled is the continued pursuit of a cheap food policy. Nothing could cause a greater threat to an adequate production of foodstuffs for the world than the collapse of our domestic wheat prices. This would rapidly be felt by the producers in every country of the world, with the exception of the Common Market with its high protective tariffs it has thrown around its farmers.

The basic reason for the failure of the farmers in the developing countries to keep pace in their production with an increasing population, with the exception of those areas that are hit by a disastrous drought as has been the case in both India and Pakistan, has been the fact that the returns for their production have been insufficient to stimulate additional inputs into their agricultural plant. For us to expect the Indian farmer to increase his output for wheat in the face of a declining world price or the availability of wheat from the United States at a support level, is the height of folly.

The key to the world food crisis is production, and the key to production is price. The failure of the United States to do everything it can to increase the price for the American farmer, which in turn sets a minimum price for the farmers of the rest of the world could be disastrous for the world economy. It would lead to the Western World being an island of abundance in the midst of a sea of misery and starvation, causing wars of conquest, not from greed but out of need. In the final analysis, the very security of our country is going to depend to a large extent upon the wisdom we exhibit as we cope with this problem confronting this committee today.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Graham, for your thoughtful discussion. You have raised some items of interest that are of tremendous importance to American agriculture. Obviously, the question of the price for these commodities enter into this question. I am glad that you have that in mind. That committee met earlier this morning to discuss some of those very matters with representatives of the Foreign Agriculture Service, asking them the same thing, in regard to maintaining greater income from wheat. We are not going to be able to supply wheat for any long time without paying a better price than producers have been receiving. The Indians themselves are not going to be able to do much about it, whatever their desires may be. The Indian farmers, like all other farmers, have to get enough for their product to pay the cost of production; otherwise, they will not and cannot produce it.

Mr. Purcell, do you desire to ask a question?

Mr. PURCELL. I do not really have a question, Mr. Chairman, but what I feel is an important issue to be raised at this place in the record.

First, I would say that I thoroughly agree with the basic approach to this problem which the distinguished chairman stated on Wednesday on India. The chairman characterized India as an applicant for public welfare. He stated that India has not made the kind of effort he would expect to be made by a private citizen of his community toward doing what he could to solve his own problems before requesting aid from others. India could and should do much more than has been done in this regard. My concern is, as has just been expressed by the chairman, based on domestic wheat prices which might result from our Nation being locked into a position which limits our export possibilities. I believe that I share the concern of the National Grange, if I have understood your statement correctly, Mr. Graham. This is a matter, basically, of our own self-interest.

I am not suggesting at this point that we either reject or modify the resolution now under consideration. I believe it is important that we carefully study the prospect for wheat production in the United States during 1967 and the total wheat disappearance we can expect. A very close balance, it seems to me, is most important here in order that we do have adequate supplies and carryover, and in order that an oversupply does not drag down the price of wheat to the American farmer.

In other words, I am always concerned about doing all that we can to feed hungry people wherever they are, provided they are interested in doing their part. I am also deeply interested in expanding agricultural exports. My first responsibility, however, must be to those American citizens who use their land, equipment, money, and labor to produce this food supply.

I will not belabor the point at this time, Mr. Chairman, I just wanted to take this opportunity, in view of statements made here by Mr. Graham, to state this concern and this basic feeling on my part.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Mr. Purcell. If there are no further questions, we are very much obliged to you.

Mr. Dole.

Mr. DOLE. I just wanted to ask one question of Mr. Graham. On page 13 of your statement, Mr. Graham, you suggest that, at least, 200 million bushels be purchased in the first 3 months of the new crop year. What type of purchases are you contemplating and at what price—are you talking about purchases by the Commodity Credit Corporation, or what?

Mr. GRAHAM. I think that they should purchase it at the market price—they should not wait until the price gets down to the support level to try to purchase it. I think they have some obligation to us who have been asked to produce this wheat, to purchase it so that the price is not further depressed from what it is at the present time. Obviously, the only way that wheat is going to be made available is to purchase it now. We, certainly, cannot draw it out of the 158 million bushels. So that they ought to purchase it in the market like anybody else, just go in and buy it like they are buying beef and chickens, and everything else—offer to purchase at a price, but, never-

theless, the price ought to be consistent with the promise last fall that the price would be maintained substantially above the support level.

Mr. DOLE. Of course, the price is above the support level.

Mr. GRAHAM. Right.

Mr. DOLE. But the support level is too low. It is rather difficult to convince the farmer that he is making a profit when he looks at his bank account. There seems to be a tendency to assume all farmers endorse this kind of resolution for selfish profit motives. We must recognize that it is a two-edged sword. Many farmers in the wheat-producing sectors are being asked to produce at cost, or maybe even less so that we can carry out an extensive food-for-peace program.

And, as Mr. Purcell has pointed out, and the chairman on other occasions, this is just not the case. The farmer has the same humanitarian motives—they have the same patriotic motives we all have, but the farmer has other problems and cannot be expected to provide food at wholesale for India or any other country.

Mr. GRAHAM. I do not think that 15 cents is very substantial above the support level.

Mr. DOLE. I do not, either. I share your view there, but there are those who say "X" percent above the support level is all right.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Brasco.

Mr. BRASCO. I did want to ask a question, Mr. Chairman, of Mr. Graham. It may not be directly relative to the matters you have discussed, because being a newcomer, finding myself on the Agriculture Committee, you can imagine the type of difficulty I have following some of these concepts, but I was wondering within the context of our willingness to supply grain to starving people in other countries, and certainly, that is admirable—I was just wondering whether or not you would have any information as to a comparison between the amounts that we supply abroad and the amounts of surplus used for the poor people here in our country, in our cities.

Mr. GRAHAM. Mr. Brasco, we use most of ours in terms of the food stamp plan, and this has no relationship. It would be a very small amount in comparison to what we use abroad in terms of any direct relief. There are still some areas in which we would be more apt to use some meat and dairy products for relief. But the comparison is almost nonexistent. We may be using 100,000 bushels, or 200,000 bushels here for that kind of relief, and 16 million tons abroad.

Mr. BRASCO. So that it would be fair to say—Mr. Graham, that we could do more for our own poor at home?

Mr. GRAHAM. I think that we can. I think that you will learn this as you get into this that there is a substantial amount of money that is appropriated in terms of the Department of Agriculture for purposes of helping our poor here. We have always supported that. And the amount that is necessary. We do not want people to starve in Brooklyn any more than they ought to starve in Bombay.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Price.

Mr. PRICE. I would like to say something for the record here that I believe is of interest. Having come from a ranching and farming background, it appears to me that we are getting the cart before the horse in many cases here. All of the testimony that we have had about these resolutions has concerned a need. And, certainly, we will agree

that the need is there, but it seems to me that wheat and other grains and all of these other products have to be produced before they can be shipped to India or other countries. There's not one other industry in this country that is asked to do what the American farmer has done at 74 percent of parity—not one—not the manufacturers, like GMC or any other—not one is asked to produce at 74 percent of parity and handed over there for nothing. Certainly, it appears to me that if the food needs of the world are to be used as a means of trying to increase income for the farmer, we should talk about parity for the farmer, and not talk about 15 cents above parity. It is discouraging to farmers to ask them to go out and try to raise production to feed a hungry world and then have the Government make them the scapegoats as their production and living costs continue to rise while their income does not.

There are 800,000 people leaving the farms every year. If we could offer some incentive in the way of decent prices for the work they have been doing on the farms, it would not drive them away from the farms. I think it is time that this committee, and the Federal Government should take that into account.

Mr. Freeman said that there is not going to be any farm program coming up this year. Then what shall we do—starve another million people off the farms because we do not want to take the time or effort to attempt to solve the American farmers' problem?

The Internal Revenue Service people were in here the other day delving into what a cottonpicker or a sheepshearer is going to be paid. It was the most disgusting thing I have ever seen.

And they seem to think the American farmer is the guy to take the brunt of it. We are going to destroy the farmer and rancher because the administration is playing politics with them in our world trade and attempting to feed the world. And I believe that organizations like yours have the responsibility of seeing that the farmer gets what he is entitled to. And I believe that is what you are trying to do. We need this market, but we need a program under which the American farmer can share in the overall profits of a prosperous economy on a comparable basis with everyone else in the United States.

Mr. GRAHAM. Welcome to the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. I know that there are others who want to ask questions, but I am going to ask that we try to keep our questions down in number, because we have five more witnesses on our witness list that we have to hear. And then we will have an executive session. We will have to go to the Rules Committee before we can bring this resolution to the floor. We would like to schedule it for next week. And I am hoping that we can act this morning on this. I know that no one wants to delay things by just talking about it. We are not getting far afield, because I know that these things are very closely associated with the Indian food situation, but I hope that we can keep the discussion down to a minimum.

Mr. Kleppe.

Mr. KLEPPE. May I ask a question?

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly.

Mr. KLEPPE. Do I understand correctly, Mr. Graham, that your statement does not oppose House Resolution 267, but you rather think that it should go further?

Mr. GRAHAM. Yes; the resolution you have should be passed, but the thing that concerns us is that our concern does not stop with this,

because we have to get a good deal farther down the road before we solve our problem here at home, rather than in just passing this resolution. I think that the resolution is in perfectly good order. We have approved it, and the testimony shows that.

Mr. KLEPPE. I wanted to be sure of that.

Mr. GRAHAM. Let us go a little further after we get this out of the way.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. If there are no further questions, we are much obliged to you, Mr. Graham.

The next witness is Mr. Herbert C. Fledderjohn, in behalf of the Friends Committee on National Legislation.

**STATEMENT OF HERBERT C. FLEDDERJOHN, ACCOMPANIED BY
FRANCES E. NEELY, LEGISLATIVE ASSISTANT, FRIENDS COM-
MITTEE ON NATIONAL LEGISLATION**

Mr. FLEDDERJOHN. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, my name is Herbert C. Fledderjohn, and with me is Frances E. Neely, legislative assistant. Today I am appearing for the Friends Committee on National Legislation, a Quaker organization that from its inception 24 years ago has placed a high priority on working on legislation dealing with world hunger and international development. The FCNL has testified several times before this committee on Public Law 480 and related legislation.

Those of you who know the highly individualistic nature of the members of the Society of Friends realize that no person or organization can speak officially for all Friends. But on this question of America's responsibility to do its full share in overcoming world hunger, there is a high degree of consensus among Friends.

Not pertinent to this testimony, but so I will be fully identified, I am also president of the International Cooperative Development Association, an organization of U.S. cooperatives that are making available their knowledge and experience to assist in the development of cooperatives and agriculture in the less developed countries, as a contribution to their economic development. I am not an expert on India, but as part of an effort which the International Cooperative Development Association is currently making to develop a large-scale program for fertilizer production in India, I have had occasion in recent months to learn something of the food and agricultural problems of that country.

It is not necessary to recount here India's need for food during 1967. It is also clear that any permanent solution to the problem of hunger in India must ultimately come from greatly increased productivity in her own agricultural industry. In spite of prodigious efforts by the Indian Government and large-scale technical assistance by this and other governments and the world organizations, total food production in India has not kept up with increasing demand, and whether we accept the estimate of 10 million tons or 15 million tons as the needed level of imports in 1967 to supplement her own production is almost academic. The need is acute, and the failure to meet it will result in a major disaster.

The Friends Committee on National Legislation recognizes and supports the need for self-help, but agricultural development is a slow

process. Time is required to develop improved seed varieties, develop and test plant protection materials, create the facilities to produce the required fertilizer, and train the millions of cultivators in their effective use. In addition, a whole new infrastructure must be created to receive, process, transport, and convert the raw products so that the population centers will have food available when they need it, and in a form which they can use. The function of our food aid now is therefore to buy the time required to modernize the agricultural sector of the Indian economy. In this regard, Americans need to remember that the United States bears partial responsibility for the delay in improving Indian food production capacity, since this country was a party to earlier decisions to concentrate the bulk of U.S. assistance in the industrial sector.

The Friends Committee on National Legislation wants to support House Joint Resolutions 262 and 267 which are under consideration here today. However, we would like to respectfully suggest that certain sections of the resolution might be strengthened in order to permit our Government freedom to respond to the need as it becomes more fully defined.

1. While we commend every effort to persuade the nations of the world to shoulder their fair share of the burden of preventing mass starvation in India, we would urge that the word "equal" be stricken from the sentence on page 3 beginning "The Congress endorses the President's policy of equal participation on the part of the United States with all other nations * * * in assisting the Government of India to meet these needs." We would recommend as well the elimination of the phrase "provided it is appropriately matched" which appears in the second full sentence on page 3. Other nations can help—if not with food, then with fertilizer, chemicals, or cash—but we feel it should be basic to the policy of the U.S. Government that our aid in the fight against famine should be limited only by our capacity to help, and not contingent upon others providing their "fair share."

2. In light of the above, we would suggest striking the phrase "amount of food grain not to exceed" in the sentence beginning "Further, the Congress recommends, on the basis of estimates now available, that the United States provide an additional amount of food grain not to exceed three million tons. * * *" It is possible that the estimates of total need may be too low and that even the U.S. fair share might exceed this amount.

3. No reference is made to transportation costs in the resolution, but because of India's need to conserve her hard currency resources for use in her agricultural and industrial development, consideration should be given to a plan whereby our Government would pay transportation costs on food shipments made under this resolution, or at least on that part of the freight which requires hard currency.

4. The resolution does not specify what kind of sales agreements the administration has in mind, which raises a question as to what application, if any, section 103(b) of the 1966 Food for Peace Act will have. As you know so well, this section requires a "progressive transition" to dollar sales. We would strongly recommend against any decision to apply this proviso in the emergency situation in which India finds herself. We urge this committee to take a similar position in this report.

5. A study should be made to determine whether any good purpose is served by requiring payment for the 3 million or more tons of food grains to be furnished under this resolution. The U.S. Government now owns such a large share of the Indian money supply as to constitute a continuing threat to her economic stability. In total, these funds represent more capital than can conceivably be constructively used in the foreseeable future. It is possible that the best interests of the people of India and the citizens of the United States would be better served if this food were furnished as an outright grant rather than a sale.

The Friends Committee on National Legislation warmly supports the humanitarian concern intended by this resolution, but thinks this concern should be expressed more explicitly through the revisions we have suggested. We realize that the long-range salvation of the developing nations lies in their own internal economic growth; but that growth comes slowly and the advantaged must do what they can to help smooth the rough spots. Steel is essential, in the long run, but, in the short run, food is the healing, life-sustaining commodity. The right of access to food should not rest on the accident of nationality, ideology, race, climate, or circumstances into which a child is born. The gift of food is one way of expressing our belief in the brotherhood of man.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Fledderjohn. We appreciate your presentation and your viewpoints. I am going to forego asking any questions at this time. Are there any questions by members of the committee? If there are no questions, we will call the next witness, who will be R. D. Zumwalt, chairman of the Export Advisory Committee of the Millers' National Federation.

STATEMENT OF RICHARD D. ZUMWALT, PRESIDENT, BURRUS MILLS, DALLAS, TEX., CHAIRMAN, EXPORT ADVISORY COMMITTEE, MILLERS' NATIONAL FEDERATION, ACCOMPANIED BY GORDON BOALS, DIRECTOR OF EXPORT PROGRAMS, MILLERS' NATIONAL FEDERATION

Mr. ZUMWALT. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I am accompanied here today by Mr. Gordon Boals, a member of the staff of the Millers' National Federation.

My name is Richard D. Zumwalt. I am president of Burrus Mills, Dallas, Tex. I am also a member of the Committee on Agriculture as well as chairman of the Export Advisory Committee of the Millers' National Federation and president of Bulgur Associates.

I am appearing here today on behalf of the Millers' National Federation. The membership of the federation includes some 85 to 90 percent of the flour milling capacity of the United States. We appreciate very much this opportunity to appear before you to express our views.

The Millers' National Federation at an executive committee meeting on February 23, 1967, reviewed the food crisis situation in India and action proposed in the White House message to the Congress on February 2, as well as House Joint Resolution 267 introduced by Chairman Poage, of Texas, and House Joint Resolution 262 introduced by Mr. Dole, of Kansas. Our executive committee unanimously agreed to the following statement:

Recognizing—

That India is currently faced with a serious food deficit problem resulting from two successive drought years that make necessary continued food imports during calendar 1967; and

That a Joint Resolution is being considered by the House Committee on Agriculture to support emergency food assistance to India;

The Millers' National Federation declares its support of the purposes of the Joint Resolution—H.J. Res. 267 and H.J. Res. 262.

In view of the continued serious drought conditions during recent weeks and many uncertainties regarding import program needs throughout 1967, the federation is confident that the committee will be reexamining the specific tonnage and dollar figures included on page 3 of the resolution and will make changes if it is considered necessary or desirable to do so.

The federation does recommend, however, that whatever food grain tonnage figure or assistance the committee approves should include a reasonable part in the form of wheat products.

Among the advantages of U.S. wheat products in the India food program are:

Products are ready for immediate consumer or institutional use which is essential for meeting urgent famine area or special group needs. This is particularly important for effective voluntary agency or donation programs as well as providing the Indian Government with some flexibility in its food ration program;

Products are bagged and can be more quickly unloaded at ports and distributed to emergency areas;

Products can be enriched or prepared to meet specific nutritional needs of special groups in the population; i.e., children, and so forth; and

Products provide a much broader base for U.S. participation in and support of a food program for India. Not only growers are involved but also processors, labor, and the U.S. economy generally.

During the past year the federation has developed types of fortified wheat products of substantially increased nutritional values especially designed for meeting special needs in overseas countries. Their higher nutritional values permit food needs to be met with smaller quantities of wheat shipped from the United States, a factor of special significance when supplies are limited. The products have already had some limited tests in India and have been found to be very adaptable for such programs. These new types of wheat products are not produced in India so they supplement rather than compete with locally produced products. Accordingly, Federation believes that these fortified products as well as other forms of wheat products can be very helpful in meeting some of the special food program needs during this year of crisis in India.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for giving us the opportunity to appear before your committee today.

The CHAIRMAN. We are delighted to have had your statement, Mr. Zumwalt. Are there any questions of Mr. Zumwalt?

Mr. Zwach.

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Zumwalt, I represent a real large farming district in the State. I have before me the parity figures for agriculture products for January 15, 1967, for wheat 61 percent of parity.

I have heard a great deal of talk about other groups, but I have not heard much talk about the farming. You asked that a lot of this shipment should be in wheat products.

Mr. ZUMWALT. Correct.

We could get 61 percent of parity for our milling efforts.

Mr. ZWACH. You get 100 percent.

Mr. ZUMWALT. That is a matter of interpretation.

Mr. ZWACH. Would you say that the transporter, the shipper, everybody else, should do this at less than a fair return as the farmer is being asked to do?

Mr. ZUMWALT. No.

Mr. ZWACH. In other words, I am asking, do you think that the producer of the wheat is entitled to 100 percent of parity on this amount that we are shipping out?

Mr. ZUMWALT. Congressman Zwach, I am not in the business of determining parity for farmers. I really do not know what the farmer is entitled to. I say that he is entitled to more than he is getting, sir.

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Chairman, I should like to state that I am in full agreement with your statement earlier in the hearing with regard to the farmer's return. The farmers are now subsidizing the American people at about three-fourths what they ought to be getting. I want to know, are we going to go now into a program of furnishing food for the rest of the world and that the farmer is expected to do it at less than a fair return? As I sit here and have listened to this testimony, this is the thing that impresses me tremendously.

Mr. Chairman, I think the Congress should seriously consider an amendment to our farm laws to the effect that all of the food that the Government furnishes to other countries should be furnished at 100 percent of parity: that the farmer be given 100 percent parity. I think that this would help to raise the price support tremendously and the parity figure.

I do not expect that I am going to sit here and ask our farmers to produce food in this fashion. First of all, to subsidize the American people, and then, secondly, to subsidize the world at less than a fair turn.

And we may expect that there will be a need for food for India next year and the next year. We have to keep up our farm plant. And this is really important, Mr. Chairman. While this is somewhat indirect in this area, I am very concerned about this.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Mr. Zwach. And thank you, Mr. Zumwalt.

Mr. Dole.

Mr. DOLE. I have a question. Are you suggesting, Mr. Zumwalt, that there be an amendment—that is, that the resolution be amended to include product forms?

Mr. ZUMWALT. We believe that in the reexamination of this resolution that it could very easily be specified that wheat byproducts or wheat products would be included in this program.

Mr. DOLE. Is there any product form that presently is shipped in India?

Mr. ZUMWALT. Under the donation program there is some bulgur and some very, very small quantities of flour, according to the record, that are being shipped, that is, under the donation program.

Mr. DOLE. Under the donation sector only?

Mr. ZUMWALT. That is right—that is right.

Mr. DOLE. How much does that amount to worldwide?

Mr. ZUMWALT. On the donation portion, I imagine India would be getting maybe \$10 million, less than \$10 million.

Mr. DOLE. That is a rather insignificant amount.

Mr. ZUMWALT. Yes, an insignificant amount.

Mr. DOLE. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you again, Mr. Zumwalt.

The next witness is Mr. William E. Moran, vice president of the International Economic Policy Association, who will present their statement in place of the listed witness, Mr. N. R. Danielian, the president of that organization. We will be pleased to hear you now.

**STATEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC POLICY ASSOCIATION,
PRESENTED BY WILLIAM E. MORAN, VICE PRESIDENT**

Mr. MORAN. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, it is a pleasure to appear before this committee which has the important responsibility of reviewing the administration's policies and proposals on food aid.

Before discussing the current resolution of the President to allocate an additional 3 million tons of grains to India, I would like to commend the committee for the farsighted and realistic approach taken on food aid in the 1966 food-for-peace legislation. I refer particularly to the emphasis put on adequate self-help measures by the recipient countries, on dollar sales to help the U.S. balance of payments, and on limiting the terms for dollar sales to 20 years.

I believe that the positions taken by this committee on self-help and dollar sales are fully consistent with the realities which the President outlined in section II in his "Message on India Food." It is heartening to see that the administration has accepted these principles in its current approach to foreign assistance programs.

American agricultural production has made a great contribution to relieving hunger and malnutrition and in fostering economic development throughout the world. It is indeed a proud chapter in the history of international cooperation. Since 1954, the United States, through its various food-for-peace programs, undertook to furnish agricultural commodities valued at almost \$20 billion to meet these noble objectives. (More than three-quarters of this was in the form of local currency sales or outright grants.) No other country or group of countries can match this record.

Title I, local currency sales to India alone have amounted to \$3.5 billion through fiscal 1966, which compares with development (dollar) loans of \$2.3 billion, not counting what we have contributed through our part of the World Bank and IDA to India's development.

The proposed 3 million tons of wheat and grain sorghums for India will bring the total U.S. food aid contribution to India this year to 6.6 million tons at a cost of approximately \$400 million. This will leave approximately 3 to 4 million tons for other countries to contribute to meet India's current food deficit. The association supports the President in the offer of food and the proposal that other countries should thus share in supplying India food aid requirements until that country is able to bring up its production.

We note with some disappointment, however, that despite assiduous efforts over past months, other countries, according to the President's message, have come forth with only 535,000 tons. (See page 7 of President's message.)

Moreover, I am at a loss to understand why the Soviet Union was in effect left out of this proposal to seek contributions of food aid to India from other countries. The Soviet Union's production of wheat last year was 73.5 million tons, which will leave them with a substantial export capacity estimated from anywhere from 4 to 7 million tons. It would indeed be a welcome further step in international cooperation if the Soviet Union would join the United States and other countries in contributing to the food needs of India.

The proposals in this Presidential message to achieve burden sharing in distributing food aid call for action in the Aid India Consortium, led by the World Bank, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), and the General Agreements on Trade and Tariff (GATT). The Soviet Union is not a member of any of these groups. Thus, she will not be pressed by such negotiations to participate in sharing the food aid burden. This is regrettable, at a time when we propose building bridges to the East. Certainly one should expect such bridges to include humanitarian assistance to India and other countries in need.

The President, in his message, refers to a proposal of the United States to make available, from all industrialized countries, 10 million tons of food grains annually for food aid. This proposal is now being discussed in the GATT Cereals Group at Geneva as part of an international cereals arrangement. I cannot understand why the sharing of food aid should become part of a tariff and trade negotiation. Food aid is a completely separate issue from tariffs. Certainly we should not have to accept European protectionist devices against agricultural imports, or make trade concessions to wean out of them food aid contributions. Assisting underdeveloped countries should be a joint responsibility of the developed countries. Internationalizing aid at the expense of concessions from the United States is in no sense a true sharing of the burden.

I should also like to point out to this committee that this resolution proposing burden sharing will be meaningless if the present negotiations in Geneva proceed on their current course. As it now stands, the United States is likely, over a brief period of years, to lose its agricultural markets in Europe.

At present, the EEC is the world's largest importer of agricultural products. In 1964, the EEC countries imported \$11.1 billion worth of agricultural products, of which \$8.6 billion came from nonmember countries. These included \$1.5 billion from the United States, \$1.5 billion from Latin America, \$1.4 billion from EFTA and other non-Communist European countries, \$1.0 billion from African countries not associated with the EEC, and \$0.8 billion from Asian countries other than mainland China. As the variable levies are extended in one form or another to practically every agricultural product produced in any quantity in the EEC—and to processed products derived from these down to the level of cornflakes and chewing gum—and as the high price supports agreed to in the EEC stimulate internal production, this huge volume of imports will be progressively diminished.

If this happens, U.S. agriculture, whose productivity has increased by 100 percent since 1949, will find itself in the position of being a very small, residual supplier for cash markets and a large supplier to concessional markets. We will end up with growing Public Law 480 sales as in the past, and diminished cash sales. In effect, we will be subsidizing European agriculture at the taxpayers' expense while we feed the less developed countries.

The higher minimum prices proposed by the United States of wheat (approximately 40 cents a bushel) will stimulate inefficient production abroad at the expense of U.S. exports and will give other producers—Canada, Australia, and Argentina—a greater proportion of the cash sales.

Thus, the current trends in agricultural policies abroad, particularly in the EEC, create large uncertainties for the United States. European commercial markets are being protected by various devices and the protecting countries show little willingness to contribute to the burden of providing food aid.

The U.S. negotiators have expressed disappointment with the offers made by the EEC. As Howard Worthington, Deputy Assistant Administrator, Foreign Agricultural Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, said in a speech this past January, the EEC offers "are entirely in terms of the EEC system." Very few represent true trade liberalization or betterment of the situation for exporters. Most would just bind the situation that will result from the completion of the EEC variable levy system. It is hard to escape the judgment that EEC offers are designed almost entirely to obtain international approval of this system.

In the light of this situation, it is our opinion that the United States should drop food aid negotiations at Geneva as a part of tariff negotiations, and concentrate on reduction of tariff and nontariff barriers against U.S. agriculture. Let us approach other countries on food aid as a moral and political obligation and not buy them off by U.S. tariff reductions.

The logical conclusion of this situation is that the United States should wait for the EEC to make meaningful offers before we conclude the Kennedy round, and extend the Trade Expansion Act if necessary. Time is on our side. The high cost of food in Europe induced by high price supports, and severe inflationary pressures, would tend to make Europe less competitive in both food and manufactures. At that point the Europeans are likely to become less protectionist in agriculture and more willing to consider true trade liberalization.

We recommend that the committee in its report make it clear that the United States should not make trade and tariff concessions in GATT or other trade negotiations in order to obtain food aid contributions from other countries.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, we are obliged to you, Mr. Moran, for your statement.

Our next witness will be Mr. Fred Devine, deputy director of CARE, New York City.

I would call attention of all of our witnesses to the fact that it is not necessary to read your statements. There is no rule of the committee that requires that. We do not require anyone to read his statement. We do need time for an executive session this morning.

STATEMENT OF FRED DEVINE, DEPUTY DIRECTOR, CARE,
NEW YORK CITY, N.Y.

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, my name is Fred Devine. I have just returned from 11 days in Bihar, in the famine area.

CARE is cooperating with the Indian Government. I do not mean only in the State of Bihar, but in other places.

At the present moment lactating mothers, and preschool children, and children of school age and nonschool age—about 3.5 million people—are being fed per day in the State of Bihar.

This is a gradually accelerating program, having begun last October with about 600,000 when this disaster broke out and began to show signs of increasing.

I do not have to go into too much detail on that, because some of you have visited the area and have visited India as well.

I have this wire which came in from India on the wire last night, and I would like to read it to you, as to what is now being done.

The total budget that the Government of India and the state government of these two states are providing are as follows:

One hundred million rupees—I do not have these figures in dollars—they came over the wire in rupees—100 million rupees in the State of Bihar for general relief; 54 million rupees in behalf of water supply projects; 74 million rupees in behalf of cattle feed, and in the State of Uttar Pradesh 74 million rupees for general welfare, and 8 million rupees for water supply.

The total allocated in available moneys is 310 million rupees.

And the Prime Minister Scarcity Fund, which is a fund organized in India—that is, the Indian citizens contribute to it, they have contributed 7½ million rupees which is about \$1 million, and 2.4 million rupees have been distributed.

CARE itself is spending 320,000 rupees per month to put food in the schools, and 300,000 rupees per month for the condiments necessary to make a more nutritive meal.

The Government of India is allocating, and has allocated, 175,200 tons of wheat alone to the State of Bihar this last month.

In our program, while as I said before, consisting of lactating mothers and preschool children, up to the age of 5, are being fed each day at the schools. We have up to 3.5 million people. And for every child in school there are three nonschool attendants who are fed.

We anticipate that the peak period of this famine will be between April and July. During that time we will, probably, need food to feed about 7½ million people a day.

These are not dry ration handouts. The food is cooked at the school. The people consume it on the school grounds.

The Government of India has stopped all vacations and is keeping the schools open. Everyone will receive a cooked meal until this disaster, hopefully, ends with the next full rains in mid-July or early August.

In conclusion, I would like to say one further thing, that from time to time we do criticize our friends, but with the support we have received in the way of resource material, from Mr. Waters and Mr. Ellis, I am afraid that we would not have today what we have if

we had not had that support. We would today in this area have people dying of starvation. I am happy to report it is not the fact at this moment. That is a realization that we are concerned about.

I would, also, like to say for the people in the U.S. Department of Agriculture, particularly Mr. Eskildsen, that this support has made this come true.

The only recommendation that we would like to make is that the \$25 million for the donation program not necessarily be considered a ceiling, because we really do not know what is going to happen in this disaster come April, June, or July, and we may just need more than \$25 million worth of food.

Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Mr. Devine, for your fine statement.

Now, we have with us our colleague, who served with distinction on this committee for some time. We are glad to have you, Congressman Paul Findley, of Illinois. We will be glad to hear from you now.

STATEMENT OF HON. PAUL FINDLEY, REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF ILLINOIS

Mr. FINDLEY. Thank you. I appreciate the chance to be here.

My purpose is to express the hope that the committee will undertake a searching scrutiny of India's performance, since a similar resolution was enacted a year ago, before you dispose of the new resolution.

I feel that the Congress is entitled to know in precise detail what India has done during the past year to increase its own food output.

In my view, generalities and promises should not be accepted. Indiana, by expert testimony before this committee this year, has been shown to have ample land and water to feed twice its present population. What specifically has India done to shed religious taboos so costly to its food supplies? What specifically has India done to create price incentives to create greater outputs, or to control population? Has India done all that could be reasonably expected to boost its own food output?

To what extent have U.S. food gifts actually impeded agricultural progress in India? For example, is it true that the operation of so-called fair-price markets, stocked mainly with gift grain from the United States, has cut prices too low to provide an adequate incentive to higher food production? Has the Indian Government taken adequate steps to give public credit to the United States for our generosity? Is that implicit in this program? To what extent have been the regular gifts been habit forming?

During the year what specifically has India done politically or militarily in return for our food generosity? Has aid in any form been provided by India to our military forces and others defending South Vietnam? Are any Indian military forces helping us? Has the Government which has received so much from the American people made even the slightest move to speak for our objectives in South Vietnam, or, to give a precise example, to mitigate the effect of hostile, anti-American theater productions in Bombay? About which I read the other day.

How much of the grain supply virtually free to the Indian Government is in turn distributed free to destitute people? Is it true

that almost all of our food gifts were put on the Indian Government market and sold?

What can be done to assure that the food gifts will actually be donated to people who have no money?

If it is determined that extensive free distribution is not practicable, would it be better for our Government to make a cash gift instead of grain gifts to India, so that grain requirements can be acquired through private market channels, and thus strengthen rather than depress local production incentives?

And, finally, I wonder why is this resolution being considered so soon after the legislation extending for 2 years the life of Public Law 480—legislation which gave the President ample authority to go ahead with the proposed shipments? This strikes me as especially curious, because the executive branch is, almost without exception, jealous of its discretionary authority and resentful when the Congress imposes specific restrictions. I am reminded, of course, of the current determined effort by the executive branch in regard to Yugoslavia to ignore a restrictive amendment this committee placed on trading with the enemy.

On one hand the Executive scorns directions from the Congress, and on the other hand asks for it. This split personality is such a paradox as to raise a question in my mind about the real motives the executive branch may have had in urging approval of this resolution.

It may well be that the Executive foresees some adverse results coming from the timing and other specifics of this proposal and wants to shift to the Congress responsibility for what happens.

Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much. Come back when we have a little more time.

Mr. FINDLEY. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. We have just had another request, a gentleman who desires to testify this morning. We advised him that we would, perhaps, be unable to get him in on this schedule. I did advise him, however, that we would be happy to have a statement for the record in case we did not have time to hear him. Therefore, permission will be granted to Rev. L. Maynard Catchings, associate director for international development, Council for Christian Social Action, United Church of Christ, to supply a statement for the record, which will be made a part of the record at this point.

(The statement follows:)

STATEMENT OF THE REVEREND L. MAYNARD CATCHINGS, ASSOCIATE FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, COUNCIL FOR CHRISTIAN SOCIAL ACTION, UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST; AND THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

1. The Council for Christian Social Action of the United Church of Christ sent a telegram on December 22 to President Johnson strongly urging that the Administration resume shipments of grain to India to meet the food emergency which threatens millions of people with famine. We now want to identify ourselves with those favoring the U.S. Congress' adoption of a Joint Resolution authorizing the allocation of emergency food assistance to India.

2. We urge that this crisis assistance, given out of our sense of moral humanitarianism, be given without being attached to requirements that other nations match our contributions.

3. We humbly call your attention to the fact that this crisis situation in India does not result primarily from a lack of willingness to help themselves but from a natural drought which has affected agricultural development over the past two years.

4. We strongly recommend that this emergency food assistance be in the form of a grant rather than a sale, in order not to further handicap India's long term agricultural development projects. In this regard it is encouraging to note that India, in her newest five-year plan, according to the Morgan Guaranty Survey, has shown heightened attention to agricultural problems.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will now go into executive session. We are very much obliged to all of the witnesses.

(Whereupon, at 11:55 a.m., the committee proceeded into executive session.)



FOOD AID FOR INDIA

HEARING
BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON
AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY
UNITED STATES SENATE
NINETIETH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

S.J. Res. 29

A RESOLUTION TO SUPPORT EMERGENCY FOOD
ASSISTANCE TO INDIA

MARCH 1, 1967

Printed for the use of the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry



U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

WASHINGTON : 1967

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FOOD AID FOR INDIA

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 1, 1967

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY,
Washington, D.C.

The committee met, pursuant to notice, at 10 a.m., in room 324, Old Senate Office Building, Senator Allen J. Ellender (chairman) presiding.

Present: Senators Ellender, Holland, Talmadge, McGovern, Montoya, Mondale, Byrd of Virginia, Hollings, Aiken, Young of North Dakota, Boggs, and Miller.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will please come to order.

The committee has the pleasure of having before it Secretary Freeman to discuss the aid to India resolution (S.J. Res. 29), and to review the administration of the various programs conducted by the Department of Agriculture. We also have with us Mr. Eugene V. Rostow, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs. The first order of business is the resolution introduced by Senator McGee and Senator Miller on aid to India.

(S.J. Res. 29 and staff explanation are as follows:)

S. J. RES. 29

90TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

FEBRUARY 6, 1967

Mr. McGEE (for himself and Mr. MILLER) introduced the following joint resolution; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry

JOINT RESOLUTION

Whereas the Congress has declared it to be the policy of the United States to combat hunger and malnutrition and to encourage economic development in the developing countries; and

Whereas two years of drought have caused a grave food shortage in India which threatens the lives and health of millions of people; and

Whereas the urgency of the need of the Indian people and the time needed for congressional deliberation have required the United States already to commit three million six hundred thousand tons of grain valued at \$275,000,000 as a part of the eight to ten million tons of grain estimated to be required during the calendar year 1967 from outside India to prevent irreparable hardship to the people of India, including \$25,000,000 emergency food relief for distribution by CARE and other American voluntary agencies; and

Whereas the programs of economic and agricultural development which have been launched by the Government of India would be seriously impaired if the international community failed to act promptly and on an adequate scale to meet the urgent needs of the people of India: Therefore be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Congress approves the participation of the United States in cooperation with other countries and with multilateral organizations, including the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, the Food and Agricultural Organization, and others, in urgent international efforts designed to—

(a) develop a comprehensive self-help approach to the war on hunger based on a fair sharing of the burden among the nations of the world;

(b) encourage and assist the Government of India in achieving food self-sufficiency; and

(c) help meet India's critical food and nutritional needs by making available agricultural commodities or other resources needed for food procurement or production.

The Congress endorses the President's policy of equal participation on the part of the United States with all other nations, under terms and conditions set forth in Public Law 480, as amended, in assisting the Government of India to meet these needs.

Further, the Congress recommends, on the basis of estimates now available, that the United States provide an additional amount of food grain not to exceed three million tons at an estimated cost of \$190,000,000 as the United States share toward meeting the India food deficit, provided it is appropriately matched, and specifically extends its support to the allocation of approximately \$190,000,000 of funds available to the Commodity Credit Corporation in calendar year 1967 which will be required to accomplish this purpose.

The Congress further recommends that the President provide an additional \$25,000,000 of emergency food relief for distribution by CARE and other American voluntary agencies.

SENATE COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE AND FORESTRY

STAFF EXPLANATION OF S.J. RES. 29

S.J. Res. 29 expresses Congressional approval of (i) international efforts to develop a self-help approach to war on hunger, (ii) U.S. and international efforts to aid India, and (iii) provision of an additional \$25 million of emergency food relief through American voluntary agencies. It does not provide any new authority or limitation on existing authority. More specifically it expresses Congressional approval of—

(1) U.S. participation in international efforts to (a) develop a self-help approach to the war on hunger, with a fair sharing of the burden, (b) assist India in achieving food self sufficiency, and (c) make available resources for food procurement or production to help meet India's critical food needs;

(2) the President's policy of equal participation with other nations in assisting India;

(3) U.S. provision of additional food gains not exceeding 3 million tons (at a CCC cost of approximately \$190 million) to help India, provided it is appropriately matched; and

(4) U.S. provision of an additional \$25 million of emergency food relief for distribution by American voluntary agencies.

The CHAIRMAN. On February 2 the President transmitted his message on food for India to Congress. In that message he emphasized the need for self-help by the developing nations, multilateral participation in assistance programs, and comprehensive planning to assist India. He outlined his recommendations and requested their consideration by Congress.

Senate Joint Resolution 29 expresses congressional approval of various actions proposed by the President. It approves the concepts of self-help, multilateral action, and comprehensive planning. It recommends that the United States provide up to an additional 3 million tons of food grains to India and an additional \$25 million of emergency food relief for distribution by American voluntary agencies. It provides no new authority and limits no existing authority.

Senator Miller, would you have anything you would like to present to the committee? As I understand, you took a trip to India, and

you know the facts pretty well, I am sure. And the committee, I am sure, will be glad to hear from you.

Senator MILLER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

May I say that if there are any questions regarding the situation over there, I would be most happy to try and answer them.

But I do have a rather brief prepared statement which I think will orient the members of the committee to the resolution. And if I may, I would like to proceed on that.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

STATEMENT OF HON. JACK MILLER, A U.S. SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF IOWA

Senator MILLER. Mr. Chairman, and members of the committee: I am a cosponsor with Senator McGee of the resolution which is now before the committee.

The purpose of this resolution is to put both the legislative branch and the executive branch of our Government on record on the subject of food aid to India. It sets forth a recommendation that our Government provide, in calendar year 1967, \$25 million of emergency food relief for distribution by CARE and other American voluntary agencies under title II of Public Law 480, as amended, and not to exceed 3 million tons of food grain, at an estimated cost of \$190 million, also under title II. This 3 million tons would be in addition to 3.6 million tons already furnished or in process of being furnished so far this year under the policy established by the India food aid resolution approved April 19, 1966.

Under the guidelines of this resolution, it will be seen that we would be on record in support of furnishing up to 6.6 million tons of food grains to India during calendar year 1967. This would be considerably less than the 8 million tons furnished during calendar year 1966, and it could represent approximately two-thirds of the 10 million tons estimated by the Department of Agriculture to be required by India from outside sources this calendar year. However, from roughly mid-May on, the 3 million tons recommended in this resolution would amount to only 50 percent of the estimated requirements for outside food aid.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that still for 1967 now?

Senator MILLER. Yes, from roughly mid-May of this year on, the 3 millions tons recommended in this resolution would amount to only 50 percent of the estimated requirements for outside food aid.

We understand from the Department of Agriculture that the 3.6 million tons already furnished or in process of being furnished, plus amounts received from other countries, will keep the pipeline of needed outside aid filled through mid-May.

The point should be made that the bulk of food aid to India will continue to be furnished by the United States until May; but thereafter we propose that Congress endorse a policy of the President that the United States furnish one half, with the Government of India having to look to the rest of the countries of the world for the other half. This other half could be contributed by other countries in the form of food grains themselves, in the form of cash to enable India to buy food grains in world markets, or, possibly, in the form of fertilizers and seed—which are only one crop period removed from food grains.

I believe the mid-May time for moving to a 50-50 sharing of food aid is a reasonable one. To do so sooner might well cause a break in the pipeline of food aid, which would mean hardship to many people. It would be very difficult for the Government of India to work out arrangements with other countries so that their deliveries would come in before mid-May in order to keep the pipeline filled. And time is needed for other countries, including those forming an India food aid consortium, to work out their program.

On the other hand, it is believed that the time is at hand for the United States to reduce its food aid to a 50-50 basis. No longer do we have the reserve stocks available to do more. And with the tragedy of a terribly costly war on our hands, the people of the United States cannot at the same time continue to do for others as much as they could do otherwise. Many other nations are not sharing in the cost of this war, and it is only right for them to shoulder their share of the food problem which drought has visited upon the people of India.

You may note that the resolution is couched in terms of a self-help approach on the part of India in achieving food self-sufficiency, under terms and conditions set forth in the 1966 Food for Peace Act. It should not be implied from this that India is not making great strides in agricultural production. While it is true that there was an unfortunate delay in assigning priorities to agricultural production from her limited resources, India has finally done so. Needed policy changes have been made to encourage outside capital investment in fertilizer plants. Great emphasis is being placed on family planning clinics throughout the nation, with a view to moving toward a balance between population and food resources. The tragedy of two successive droughts in several parts of the country has caused a temporary crisis. Food aid is needed to enable a large democratic country, moving along the right road, to continue its progress and to prevent hunger, malnutrition, and possible starvation to millions of people. We should join with other nations in helping to meet this need.

I earnestly request your favorable consideration of this resolution.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Secretary, you heard Senator Miller's statement.

Is it your intention that from May on to insist that 50 percent of the requirement for India be furnished by other countries?

STATEMENT OF HON. ORVILLE L. FREEMAN, SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE

Secretary FREEMAN. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. What if they do not?

Secretary FREEMAN. If they do not, Mr. Chairman, we will have to cross that bridge when we come to it.

The CHAIRMAN. I would like to cross it now and make it so that that is all they get. As far as I am concerned, I would like to have that put in the resolution. Because if we leave the door open, just as sure as we are talking together here, we are going to carry the whole burden. We have been carrying that burden in the past, and I think it is time to call a halt to it.

Secretary FREEMAN. Mr. Chairman, there are so many events and developments that might take place down the road in connection with this that I really would ask your most thoughtful consideration to at least not make this a completely closed door.

We are trying to say here, Senator Miller, in drafting this resolution—in which I concur—and I am sure my associates here who appear with me, Under Secretary of State Rostow and Mr. Waters from AID, in saying as strongly as firmly and emphatically as we know how to the rest of the world that the President supports this very strongly. Mr. Rostow went on a trip around the world to try to drive it home. And the United States, without any surpluses any more, is going to have to pay for every dime that goes into the India feeding program. And it is no longer tolerable that we should meet 85 percent of this burden. But a transition of this kind made on top of the very considerable contributions that are already being made by some others, in the light of worldwide contingencies such as further weather fiascoes, all of these mean that we think we ought not to completely close that door. So we are saying not that we will put in the additional if the other countries do not, we are not saying that at all. We are not saying what we will do, we will have to cross that bridge when we come to it. But we are saying very strongly that we do not intend to do so. And we are couching this language as firmly as we can in those terms. And I would hope that that tiny bit of leeway would be left in this resolution so that we could go forward jointly in the executive and legislative branch to carry this program forward.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, is it your understanding that according to the food for freedom law that we now have, that before delivering this we have to have the grain on hand, a surplus, before it is delivered?

Secretary FREEMAN. Mr. Chairman, surplus, as you know much better than I, is a question of definition. Obviously we are going to have to have the grain on hand. And we are not going to move grain out of this country if we do not have enough to protect our own people's needs.

The CHAIRMAN. And our own commercial export requirements.

Secretary FREEMAN. And our own export requirements, commercial export requirements.

So those are very strong preconditions.

We will have, I might say, Mr. Chairman, as matters now stand, adequate grain on hand to meet this projected program and still maintain adequate reserves.

The CHAIRMAN. You say that Mr. Rostow made a complete circuit of the world to try to get others to help India?

Secretary FREEMAN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. What has India done in that direction?

Secretary FREEMAN. Let me ask Mr. Rostow.

The CHAIRMAN. I would like to know. Because we not only furnish food, but we are asked to go out and beg for India. And as far as I am concerned, I would like to get out of the begging business and let India do it itself—I mean the present Prime Minister.

STATEMENT OF HON. EUGENE V. ROSTOW, UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS

Mr. Rostow. We insisted on India taking the initiative, Senator. We consulted with the government of India both here and in New Delhi. And we are in the process of supporting India's diplomatic efforts in every capital. Wherever we went we followed the Indian Ambassador and the Indian Economic Minister in presenting and supporting the case for India.

And you will be interested to know that the Canadians and the Australians went around and made representations in support of India's problem this year for the same reasons that we did. So what we had was a concerted diplomatic effort in which we are not solely taking the responsibility ourselves. This was an effort in support of the Indian Government's own earnest and active diplomatic approaches. And they have gone to other countries where we have not spoken for them with the same requests for assistance in meeting their needs for this year.

The CHAIRMAN. Am I correct in saying that Russia has agreed to furnish a certain quantity of wheat, grain to India?

Mr. ROSTOW. Yes. The Soviet Union has made one gift of 200,000 tons last December.

The CHAIRMAN. Is that during the current year?

Mr. ROSTOW. The gift was announced, as I recall it, at the end of December. But the deliveries are counted in this year. And I believe the Indians have approached the Soviet Government again.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any further questions?

Senator Young.

Senator YOUNG. Mr. Chairman, this is a subject that wheat producers are greatly interested in. It has a direct bearing on their future prosperity. Wheat prices now are lower than they have been since the Korean war, and we have the lowest carryover since that time. When the Department of Agriculture permits farmers to increase their wheat acreage by 32 percent, without any assurance of additional price protection, the price couldn't do anything else but drop if we have a normal crop.

An article in the Wall Street Journal this morning says that there has been a 5-percent drop in the wheat price to \$1.49 a bushel in the last month. This has lowered the food grains index 4 percent.

Now, there is no question about farmers being able and willing to produce all the wheat we can consume in this country, and all we can export. There is no chance of any shortage. The thing that adversely affects prices is all this hollering about cutting down on exports when the carryover gets to 400 million bushels or less. This is what really hurts the prices. Whenever the Secretary of Agriculture or any Department of our Government announces that we aren't going to export any wheat after the carryover gets to 400 million bushels or less, why should the processors, millers, bakers or anyone else bid up on wheat? They aren't going to do it. That is why wheat prices are real low. In my State prices were down to less than \$1.50 a bushel. This is almost unbelievable when we have the lowest carryover since the Korean war, and all this demand for wheat. We can produce all the wheat that is needed, but farmers should not be asked to do it for \$1.25 or \$1.50 a bushel.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Secretary, would you comment on that?

Secretary FREEMAN. Yes, I would comment to say that I agree with Senator Young in expressing a deep concern about the fact that our wheat prices have been very jumpy the last year. We did have a much stronger wheat price last year. These are important considerations. Basically what we are trying to do now is to learn to live in a free market.

Congress passed a farm bill in 1965. As I interpret it, it said to the wheat producers, and said to the agricultural organizations, and said to the executive branch of the Government, now you have been

in here claiming that we change our rules every year. Now we are going to give you some rules. And we have all wanted a free market, and now we have largely got it. The Government is out of the market, and farmers have more freedom of choice than they have had perhaps for 30 years; now let's see what you can do with it. And that is what we are trying to do with it. I am confident that there are many things we can do. But everybody is jumpy. Wheat prices last year went up during harvest season—no one expected that they could possibly go as high as they did. This was a speculative market, and now again is a speculative market. In the Southwest 2 days last week wheat prices jumped up 7 cents on the basis of weather reports. And then again they go down. This is an important consideration. As I said before, we are going to have wheat available. And for the reason I outlined in the statement, I think we ought to proceed with this program.

I just make the point that this is part and parcel now of our effort to learn to operate under some new circumstances, and that part of those circumstances is the overall world market and demand, which is strong, both concessional and commercial, and the fact that we have successfully eliminated our surpluses.

However, I think the record ought to show also, Senator, that the farmers are not getting a wheat price basically of \$1.45, they are getting a price of about \$1.80, because there is a \$1.32 certificate that is involved here that is the difference between the loan rate, as you well know, and parity. They are guaranteed 100 percent of parity for that domestic share.

Now, I do not express any satisfaction with the combination of \$1.40 and the certificate, nor do I think that a blend price of \$1.80 is adequate. I think all of this is a consideration before this committee in making this decision. But I did want to set this whole problem down in this general background.

Senator YOUNG. The blend price, you are right, is around \$1.80 a bushel. But even at that level, this is lower than the cash wheat price was 20 years ago. What will happen to prices if you take into consideration the production with the 32-percent increase in acreage to about 60 million acres?

Secretary FREEMAN. A potential of 60 million acres.

Senator YOUNG. With an average crop we would have to export about two-thirds of that wheat. Only about a third of that would be consumed in the United States. This puts wheat in an entirely different category than any other farm product that I know of.

Secretary FREEMAN. I do not dispute that, I quite agree. But during this current marketing year the price has been about \$1.60. For the current year farmers will receive a blend price of about \$2.15. Now, again I emphasize, Senator, that the points you make are absolutely valid. And I am not saying for a moment that wheat prices, as they are currently, are adequate. But I am just trying to set this in an appropriate context, so that we can protect the programs that we have fought so hard for and make them work—which you fought very hard for and so did I.

So we have got to keep all of these factors in mind and deal with them fairly.

Senator YOUNG. Of our about 867 million bushel exports last year, less than 300 million bushels were for dollars. The rest of it was

shipped under Public Law 480. That is why prices are affected so greatly by what we do under a program such as we are considering here today.

Secretary FREEMAN. I would agree with that 100 percent. I think that we need to do a more skillful job. And we are working hard on this, on scheduling this kind of thing, so that there would not be the adverse effect of statements on the market and the things you describe, because we are learning to live in a new world, this is a new ball game, and everything is very complicated and very difficult and very jumpy.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Secretary, as I understand the law, even with this increase of wheat acreage that you mentioned a while ago, the farmer is still entitled to full parity on what is consumed domestically, and then this blend makes it possible for him to obtain at least \$1.81 or thereabouts per bushel.

Secretary FREEMAN. Depending upon two things. First, the market price, which is the product of the free market, as I stated a moment ago.

Secondly, the certificate runs to the domestic share. When you expand acreage obviously the percentage that the domestic share is to the total becomes less.

So the certificate now would be running with increased acreage to about 35 percent of a farmer's production, where previously it was running as high as 45 percent of the farmer's production.

But the fact remains that this is to that extent an important consideration.

I think it is going to hurt us, Senator, in the long run in fighting for this program if we insist that the whole return is only what you get in the market and ignore the domestic certificate or if the leaders in farm organizations overlook the same thing. Because this committee—and the Secretary of Agriculture had a little bit to do with it, and the chairman did a brilliant job on the floor in carrying it through the Senate—he made it quite clear that the certificate is a part, and we ought to acknowledge it.

Senator YOUNG. The experience of the last 2 years ought to be a lesson to everyone who studies wheat production, that with our lower price supports of \$1.25 a bushel, if we did not have the wheat certificate payments most every wheat farmer would be broke now. Cash prices have followed the price support loan level for 20 years, and will continue to follow it.

Secretary FREEMAN. I agree with you 100 percent. So let us not inadvertently get in a position where we lose the wheat support plan.

Senator AIKEN. To what extent are our American companies establishing flour mills in other parts of the world?

Secretary FREEMAN. I cannot really answer that question off the top of my head. In a good many places they are. India, to which we are directing attention today, has its own flour milling industry, as you know.

Senator AIKEN. I was wondering how that affects the price of wheat, and whether it is similar to the case of the dairy industry. By establishing processing plants in virtually every dairy country in the world, the big dairy companies have used that to keep down our prices. Are they doing the same thing in wheat?

Secretary FREEMAN. I cannot answer that question without further information, Mr. Chairman.

Senator AIKEN. I would not ask you to guess.

Senator HOLLAND. Mr. Chairman, the Secretary has not started on the statement. I am simply going to say hopefully to him that I hope somewhere in his statement he will deal with this complaint which has come to me more frequently as of late than anything else, and that is, we are running in both directions at the same time. We have got a cropland production program, or retiring land production, and we are encouraging the increase of production by bringing a good many million acres back into food production all at the same time. So I hope in your statement you will give some attention to that complaint. It has come to me from many quarters. And I am sure that that is true with reference to every member of this committee.

Secretary FREEMAN. Mr. Chairman, I would like to answer that quickly now if I may. It is not in the statement, but it is a very important question.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Holland, I may say that what we are considering now is the Indian food resolution. When we get into this other—

Senator HOLLAND. I understand. But wheat is one of the important crops in which they are running in both directions.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand.

Secretary FREEMAN. May I have just 30 seconds to answer this, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. You may have 40.

Secretary FREEMAN. It is a very proper question. I have received it too, Senator. And it is just simply not true. Anyone who asked that question and implies we are running in two directions, very frankly, has not paid any attention to what has gone on. On wheat we have said, produce any amount you want, we are not taking anything out. And we have expanded accordingly.

In feed grains we are saying, we need a little more now, but we do not need 35 million acres more because we do not want surplus grain. That is what we had out last year. What we want out now is about 15 to 20 million acres in and about 15 to 20 million acres out. And what we are doing now is precisely what this law was intended to do, to operate flexibly to meet needs. Next year we could very well go back to take out 35 million acres; we do not know. But because of a lot of factors that I will not burden the record with now, we need about 15 million more acres of feed grains; we do not need 35 million more acres of feed grains. So we expect we will keep about 20 million out and put 15 million back in. We are not going in two directions at all; that is just a complete misstatement of fact.

Senator HOLLAND. In the wheat area—and that is what we are concerned with today—will you succinctly state just what we are doing in that area?

Secretary FREEMAN. In that area, because of a combination of factors, domestic and world demand, the Secretary of Agriculture last year twice increased the allotments. The first time he said, instead of holding back some 15 to 20 million acres of land we would only hold out 7 to 10 million acres of land. Then 6 weeks later, watching very carefully the overall situation, demand and supply, and consulting very broadly, including with members of this committee, and some of the members who are here from wheat and other segments of agriculture, he reached the conclusion that we ought to increase another 7 to 8 million acres.

So in wheat we have in effect said, plant all the wheat you want. Because for the moment at least we can use it. Next year we might not.

In feed grains we said, plant some more but not all you could plant.

Senator MILLER. Mr. Chairman, may I make a comment.

I would just like to make it clear that this resolution does not confine itself exclusively to wheat. We are talking about food grains. And in recent shipments under the policies of the Department and the President, there has been a substantial amount of grain sorghums which have been mixed with the wheat shipments. And I believe there is an intention to continue a mix of some kind.

Secretary FREEMAN. Very much so.

Senator HOLLAND. Mr. Chairman, I have one more question.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Miller, what I had in mind was simply this, that we were considering the resolution, and then we were coming to these questions about the whole program, as to how it operates. And that is what I had in mind when I stated to Senator Holland that we would get into that in a few minutes.

Senator HOLLAND. Just one more question. Since the Secretary has gone into this explanation, which I appreciate, did the producers of wheat respond to your stepped up allotments by planting in full the increased acreage that you allowed them to plant? If not, what portion of it did they plant?

Secretary FREEMAN. We do not know that yet completely. Of course, the spring wheat crop has not been planted. But of the 30 percent of increased allotments; about 25 percent was planted according to our crop forecast.

Is that about right, Ed?

**STATEMENT OF EDWIN A. JAENKE, ASSOCIATE ADMINISTRATOR,
AGRICULTURAL STABILIZATION AND CONSERVATION SERVICE,
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE**

Mr. JAENKE. I think it increased a total of 32 percent. And of that 25 to 26 percent more acreage was planted based on the winter wheat projection.

Secretary FREEMAN. We do not know the final result, but on winter wheat projection, as best we can tell from our Crop Reporting Service, about 25 percent out of the 32 percent increase was planted.

Senator HOLLAND. The 32 percent covered both of your increases?

Secretary FREEMAN. Yes, sir.

Senator HOLLAND. Thank you.

Senator YOUNG. I might add, the North Dakota State ASCS committee estimates that farmers intend to plant 21 percent more spring wheat in our State. This compares with the 32-percent increase permitted.

Senator HOLLAND. I think, Mr. Chairman, that that has a distinct part in this whole thing, because it shows whether or not there is complete cooperation and complete joining by the producing industry with the planning agency, and the agency which is charged with the duty of having produced this extra food supply to ship overseas. And I think that is a very important part of this whole program, and that we cannot possibly ignore it. It has got to be considered in any decision that we make.

Secretary FREEMAN. May I say for the record again at this point, it is subsequent to the decision that I made a year ago. And I make this point only because it is illustrative of the difficulty, the complexity of what we are doing in agriculture, which is always very complex. But since I made this judgment—which was a very difficult one, because I ride on a razor, right on the sharp edge of a razor between having too little and having too much. And sometimes it has been said that the Secretary of Agriculture is a hero or a bum depending upon whether it rains or shines. In this instance, after the judgment was made to increase the wheat allotment, we had a bumper crop in Canada, and we had a bumper crop in Russia, and we had a bumper crop in Australia. Now, these were things which at that time we were watching very carefully. But there was just no way of knowing what would happen.

Now, this has been the basic reason, Senator Young, why there has been some softness in the market.

And it is pertinent to your question, Senator Holland, because we are saying now, where wheatgrowers are concerned, there is a price which is lower than satisfactory, which has been occasioned by factors beyond their control, beyond our control, and beyond this country's control. And so I think it is a pertinent consideration to the matter that is currently before the committee.

Senator HOLLAND. Thank you, Mr. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any further questions in respect to the resolution to furnish food to India?

Secretary FREEMAN. I would like to submit my statement for the record. I will not burden this committee by reading it. If I might be allotted about 2 minutes to paraphrase it, then we could go forward with questions, and I think expedite the work of the committee in that fashion.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Secretary FREEMAN. Mr. Chairman, and members of the committee, I submit this testimony for the record.

I would just mention two points in connection with it. No. 1, I tried to set down a report to the committee as to what took place after this committee and the Senate and the Congress went forward with the joint resolution a year ago.

I do this, and I hope you will pardon me, with some pride for the Department of Agriculture.

Many of your questions a year ago were; can it be done? Can we move this volume—the greatest volume of grain that has ever been moved out of this country in history, given the tight boxcar situation that Senator Young talked about, given the tight support condition that the chairman talked about, can it be done? I am proud to report to you that it was done efficiently. And witness the fact that there were few complaints and not very much noise. May I say, no compliments, but at least no complaints.

In this instance we instituted a brandnew system of moving grain that had never been done before, in cooperation with the railroads, where we took about 50-car unit trains with these big hopper cars, and we moved grain from Minneapolis to the coast in 5 days and back again. These trains went straight through and right back. It was an exciting thing. It worked out very well. And one of the chief executives of one of the big railroads described it as a new railroading

record and said this, "We have never before in the history of the railroad moved a trainload of grain from Minneapolis to Galveston or to the east coast and had our cars emptied and returned in 5 to 8 days."

So we did move out of here the greatest volume of grain in history.

And then there were questions here could India take it? My best report was that India could not take more than 600,000 tons a month. In any event, India has taken up to 1,200,000 tons a month, and has distributed it quite efficiently to the places where it is needed, and the great part of it on a self-help program.

So this has, I am happy to report to you, been done in the main efficiently, effectively, and equitably.

Thirdly—and Senator Miller developed this, so I will only mention it—we do feel that in the last year India has fundamentally lived up to her commitments in the self-help area in strengthening her own agriculture. A lot has been done. Much remains to be done.

But I go into that in some detail here.

And with those remarks, I will submit the testimony for the record.

Thank you.

(Secretary Freeman's prepared statement is as follows:)

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Committee: Almost a year ago we met on a similar occasion—to consider the need for emergency aid to India. The Committee acted quickly and favorably on the President's special appeal—which we deeply appreciated.

Since that time, and in close consultation with the Congress, we have carried out this emergency food mission. It has been outstandingly successful in saving lives and averting what might have been one of the great famines of all times. I take this occasion to report to you what has taken place this year—as I reported yesterday to the House Committee on Agriculture—and to urge your support for the Joint Resolution submitted by Senator McGee and Senator Miller.

Let me briefly review the mathematics of India's food problem last year. In 1964-65 India produced a record 89 million tons of food grains—significantly above the stable 80 million ton level of production that prevailed in the early 1960's. But in 1965-66 the monsoon rains were the poorest in nearly a century. Food grain production fell to only 72 million tons. Crop failure was widespread and starvation was imminent.

India, with our help and with help from a number of other countries, mobilized to import a record amount of food grains and to make effective distribution of it. Altogether, India imported over 10 million tons. More than 8 million tons of this came from the United States—about four-fifths wheat and about one-fifth grain sorghums. We estimate that the food grains we provided supplied the daily grain rations for 60 million Indian people, about one-eighth of the entire population. Through considerable belt-tightening and effective distribution of available food, India was able to avoid famine with a substantially smaller total supply of grain than was available in earlier years.

Last year many people wondered whether it was possible to move such a large volume of grain out of the U.S. to India without disrupting normal transportation and marketing. The amount of grain imports required by India was well beyond the level that had ever moved through her ports and that had ever been distributed to her needy people.

The effectiveness with which the grain was moved and distributed is a tribute to dedicated and coordinated effort that stretched from the wheat fields in the United States to the villages of India.

Here in the U.S. we were faced with a boxcar shortage, a frozen Great Lakes seaway, and crowded Gulf Coast port facilities. But through extraordinary measures we were able to maximize shipments from East Coast ports.

The Department of Agriculture enlisted the cooperation of nine railroad companies to ship grain through the use of covered hopper unit trains. The covered hopper cars hold nearly twice as much grain as a boxcar; load and unload faster; and lose less grain in transit. Unit trains of 50 cars made complete round trip from Minneapolis to the East Coast in 5 to 8 days, compared with 23 days for a train of boxcars.

A train of about 50 hopper cars hauled enough grain to provide a day's ration to 20,000,000 Indian people.

Through the cooperation of American railroads and the Department of Agriculture a new railroading record was established. Railroad employees and officials were enthusiastic. As one official said:

"We have never before in the history of the railroad moved a trainload of grain from Minneapolis to Galveston or to the East Coast and had our cars emptied and returned in 5 to 8 days."

The President's program was executed on a timely basis; the needed food grains reached India as programmed.

India, too, was faced with the need for receiving and distributing grain in greater volume than ever before. At her request we sent over a high level team of experts to recommend a blueprint for action. Maximum Indian port capacity, prior to the survey by the team, had been 800,000 tons per month. As a result of the team's recommendations and initiatives by the Government of India, as much as 1.2 million tons of grain, in addition to other bulk commodities, per month were unloaded.

In combination with a stepped-up and highly efficient program of transportation and distribution, U.S. grain reached the people of India who needed it most in a timely and effective manner. Not only were the poor of India's cities provided with needed grain, but grain reached the thousands of villages with insufficient food. Numerous work projects were carried out and financed with U.S. grain. Our food assistance was not used by India as a dole. It was used to finance useful efforts such as building roads and improving irrigation systems.

The cooperation between India and America in this huge humanitarian effort was outstanding. The U.S. Government agencies involved worked together in an efficient, coordinated effort under an inter-agency Indian task force headed by Mr. C. R. Eskildsen, then Associate Administrator of the Foreign Agricultural Service, making a record of which we can be proud. In every way we lived up to our American tradition of helping a neighbor in need, and earned the gratitude which India has officially expressed.

Today we are here to consider a second appeal in behalf of the People of India.

For the second year in a row, nature has been unkind to India's farmers. Last year the lack of rainfall was widespread; this year the lack is mainly in northern India. But, the accumulation of two successive years of drought is serious and India will again need about 10 million tons of grain imports to avert famine.

It is a cruel trick of fate that what assisting nations did last year needs redoing this year.

The Members of Congress are well acquainted with the hardships that India is facing. Senator McGee, Senator Moss, and Senator Miller have all been in India recently, and so have Congressman Poage and Congressman Dole. They have viewed the situation first-hand. I take this occasion once again to thank them on behalf of President Johnson for responding to his request and giving of their time and energy during the busy holiday season. In their report to the President all agreed that the situation is real and serious, requiring both a higher degree of self-help in India herself and a substantial amount of help from the outside.

We live in hope, and the odds would certainly seem to be that nature will cooperate in the year ahead so that India can have a normal crop and move ahead with its extensive agricultural improvement plans so that such massive assistance will not be necessary a third time. It is India's purpose and ours that massive food aid will not be necessary much longer. India's target for food self-sufficiency is 1972. We will continue to try to help them meet that target. Meanwhile, India faces an immediate problem of compensating for this second year of poor harvests.

President Johnson, in his February 2 Message on India Food, responded to this new need by announcing an immediate allocation of 2 million tons of U.S. Food grains under the Title I program. These shipments, along with grains already in the pipeline, will help maintain a steady flow to India into early summer—and this will provide time to formulate the consortium approach to India's food aid that the President has recommended.

The food aid challenge of India—both for the present and for the years ahead—is clearly too great for any one nation or small group of nations to shoulder. The President said, "All advanced nations—including those which import food—must share the burden of feeding the hungry and building their capacity to feed themselves."

The President's proposal that we link our efforts with those of other countries through an India Food Aid Consortium is a highly practical way to bring about this sharing of the load.

The India Aid Consortium has been assisting India, mainly in the area of foreign exchange problems, since 1958. The World Bank serves as chairman. Member countries include Austria, Belgium, Canada, France, West Germany, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Some other countries also are helping India and may be willing to join in the food aid effort.

The Consortium, during the 1962-65 period, supplied India with about \$4½ billion in grants and loans. It is intimately acquainted with India's development problems. The proposed integrating of Indian food aid with broader programs of economic assistance, and with capital and technical assistance for agricultural development, can provide a much stronger helping hand that India must have if it is to cope successfully with its mountainous problems of too little food for a large and growing population.

As the President said, India needs to import about 10 million tons of food grains this year. We estimate that about 2.3 million tons are now in the pipeline. Of this amount, the U.S. has contributed 1.6 million tons, Canada has contributed approximately 200,000 tons, Australia has granted 150,000 tons and sold 150,000 tons, and the Soviet Union has made a grant of 200,000. We are adding 2 million tons to this amount through our new allocation. This leaves a deficit to be met of 5.7 million tons. We propose to supply 3 million tons of this, provided that it is appropriately matched by other countries.

Under the consortium approach to food aid, we hope that the other countries will help to supply food and will also be generous in supplying fertilizer and other agricultural production assistance. The big job, of course, must be done by India itself. The President, like the Members of Congress who recently visited India, places strong emphasis on the necessity of India—through self-help—doing the utmost to cope with its food and population crisis. And the President is encouraged that India is making serious efforts to do this. India has added new notes of practicality and urgency to its agricultural improvement efforts.

Starting in late 1965 the Government of India began to place increasing emphasis on agricultural development. The food crises of the past few years made it unmistakably clear to India's leaders that agriculture, among all the development objectives, had to receive high priority.

Very significant changes have occurred in India's agricultural policies and the commitment of resources to agriculture. Public investments scheduled for agriculture during the Fourth Five-Year Plan will be more than double that of the Third Plan. Agriculture is second only to national defense in the Fourth Plan. Accelerated investments in agriculture have already begun to take place. Budget expenditures for agriculture during 1966-67 are 43 percent above the 1965-67 level.

In addition to the Fourth Five-Year Plan, the Indian Government has developed an annual subplan which will permit early evaluations of performance. This procedure introduces a new degree of flexibility in adjusting resource allocations within agriculture to ensure that production targets are met.

Since 1964, the Indian Government has been providing food grain producers minimum price support at levels sufficient to encourage greater production.

At a meeting of state and central government leaders in November, 1966, it was agreed that a national food budget system should be immediately developed to facilitate greater sharing between surplus and deficit states. The staff work for the food budget is nearing completion and the budget is expected to be announced this spring. This effort, together with an extensive system of food rationing, will help achieve a more equitable distribution of food during the period of food scarcity.

The Indian Government took a number of steps in 1966 to stimulate investment in fertilizer production capacity and to ensure sufficient imports of fertilizer to meet established targets for total fertilizer availability.

India has taken the following steps to improve the investment climate for the manufacture of fertilizer in the private sectors: (a) All geographic constraints on fertilizer marketing within each state have been removed, and New Delhi plans to remove constraints on interstate movement as soon as supplies permit. (b) All private manufacturers of fertilizer who commit themselves to invest in India prior to March 1, 1967, will be allowed freely to price and distribute their products, with no government regulations. (c) Simplified and streamlined procedures for approving and licensing foreign private investment in the manufacture of fertilizer have been put into effect and, together with new policies on foreign private

investment (e.g., acceptance of management control by the foreign collaborator), have succeeded in speeding negotiations with investors already underway and in stimulating proposals from other foreign firms. (d) In allocating foreign exchange, top priority has been given to fertilizers, including fertilizer for seeding programs of new plants, fertilizer raw materials and spare parts for fertilizer plants. (Foreign exchange allocations for fertilizer in 1965-66 were \$163 million and in the current year it is \$268 million.)

Substantial progress has been made to increase the operating efficiency of fertilizer plants in the public sector. As a percent of capacity, production has been raised from 63 percent in 1965 to an estimated 80 percent in 1966. The principal reasons for operation of plants at low levels of capacity were a lack of raw materials, a shortage of spare parts, and poorly designed plants. Indian efforts to date have improved the situation on all these fronts. Steps are also being taken to reduce the dependence upon sulphur—in short supply world around—in the manufacture of fertilizer in India, and to develop India's pyrite deposits which may make it possible to meet all the sulphur requirements by 1974.

To maximize food production from available inputs, India has adopted a strategy of concentrating a combination of agricultural inputs, including new, high yielding seeds, on the most productive land with an assured supply of water. Already the evidence indicates that the concentration of available inputs on selected acreage has been carried out effectively, although drought has ruled out the possibility of reaching the target of one additional ton of food grain per acre. But the program is demonstrating that Indian farmers, given proper guidance and necessary inputs, can dramatically raise productivity levels.

For the Fourth Five-Year plan a target of 32.5 million acres has been set for this High-Yielding Varieties Program, and an adequate supply of fertilizer, improved seed varieties, plant protection materials, and irrigation are to be assured for this acreage. During the 1966-67 crop year India plans to cover 6.4 million acres under this program—an effort without precedent.

A cabinet level committee on agricultural credit has been established. Also, a working level committee of the Indian Government is currently studying ways to establish a national agricultural credit program. Steps have been taken this year to increase (about 10 percent over last year) the supply of credit to cultivators through credit cooperatives and, on a pilot basis, to use the Food Corporation of India to extend credit to cultivators as an advance on their crop. Cultivators can pay off their loan by either grain or cash. Finally, private banks have been urged to establish rural credit programs.

There has been some speedup in Indian performance in the soil and water management field. The basic outline for a new program has been developed (with USAID/US Geological Survey assistance) and a central coordinating body has been set up and is partially staffed. In addition, India has developed, and is beginning to implement (with USAID/Soil Conservation Service assistance) a program for the better management and more intensive utilization of available water.

Actual progress made in India's agricultural development effort is obscured this year by the second successive year of serious drought. We are encouraged, however, by the fact that food grain production this year in states not affected by the drought is well above that of any previous year.

In addition to agricultural development efforts, family planning is being encouraged across the nation.

As President Johnson said in his message on India Food: "India is off to a good start. But it is only a start. As Indian officials have warned, hard work remains in reaching targets they have set and in improving cooperation among state governments. India's economic problems are enormous. But they can be solved."

As realists, we know that India has a long, long way to go in solving its problems. But India is moving and there is hope—if it gets enough help, of the right kind, soon enough, from enough countries.

Your proposed Joint Resolution to Support Emergency Food Assistance to India is, in my opinion, well phrased and extremely important.

It will lend the strength, understanding, and support of the Congress and the American people to the compassionate yet highly practical proposals made by President Johnson.

I sincerely hope that the Congress will once again—as you did last year—give this urgent matter your strong endorsement.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Rostow, have you anything to add?

Mr. ROSTOW. I might say a few words from the point of view of the international side of this effort. What we are trying to do fundamentally, is to get the international community to accept responsibility for what is, if you look at it in perspective, an international problem. And that is the disparity between the rate of growth of population and the rate of growth of food production in the world.

Unless this equation is brought into balance as a matter of agreed international action within 10 or 15 years, the world faces unimaginable tragedy.

We have run out of surplus, or easy surplus conditions here. And we have therefore been active during the last couple of years, and most intensively this year, first, as Secretary Freeman said, to support India's commendable efforts in developing its own agricultural capacity, and second, to get the international community to accept emergency food as a full international responsibility. During the period of surpluses it was easy for us to bear 85 percent or so of the aid to India and in other countries. But that is no longer the case.

We have developed in the aid field generally patterns of international cooperation in supplying economic assistance. In the case of India there is a consortium which has been meeting successfully for a period of years under the chairmanship of the World Bank. And that consortium, a kind of a standing committee of the nations interested, coordinates the various aid programs to India, and discusses with the Indian Government its own economic plans in relation to those aid programs. Our share in that consortium has been in the neighborhood of 42 percent, which is not disproportionate when you consider the weight of our economy in the free world economy. We are trying to move the food problem over into that same pattern to take account both of the growing specter of defeat in the war against hunger, and the disappearance of large surpluses in our own country and in other countries.

That, Mr. Chairman, is the essence of the idea on which we have been working. We and the Department of Agriculture have been working, both here and abroad, to get the other nations to accept their share of responsibility for this problem in India which would in effect be a model effort applicable with some changes in other areas. And I can report to you that the other countries have all agreed with us in the proposition that assistance to India and assistance to other countries in helping to bring food supply into balance with population over the next 10 years or so is an international responsibility. And they have all agreed that they will try to do their share in meeting that responsibility. And we are looking forward now during the next couple of weeks to very active diplomatic contacts here and abroad preparing the way for a meeting of that World Bank consortium early in April at which decisions and commitments would be made.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Rostow, it looks as though some progress is being made. And as the Secretary pointed out a while ago, I think we furnished 85 percent of the needs of India during the last year. And now we are proposing 50 percent, which to me is rather high, considering that we have no surpluses on hand. It would seem to me that efforts ought to be made to get the countries that are in need of food to slack up on industrial expansion at the cost of food

production. It strikes me that food is more essential now to some countries than industrial expansion. It strikes me we ought to insist on that.

And with that in mind, if you can get them to agree to that, I really believe that if we can keep this contribution for the first year to 50 percent, say that is it, that you will get them to—I see you shake your head—I think that is the way to do it. Because if we leave the door open, why they might put up the same as they did last year, let Uncle Sam carry the whole load. That has been our trouble in the past. We have been too softnosed, if you want to know the truth about it.

Secretary FREEMAN. Mr. Chairman, I second what you have said in terms of our insistence that India and other countries pay adequate attention and make an appropriate investment in their own agriculture.

But in this instance I would say to you, not that we have reached a millenium, but that today in India agriculture is the No. 1 priority item. They have increased the investment in their budget by 50 percent. Senator Miller has last been there. I would defer to him on this. They are not going to be able to do this overnight. But I feel—and I had a little to do with reviewing this with them—that India has made a bona fide, sincere, and quite successful effort to turn around in a very short period of time, and that today agriculture is a priority element.

Now, this committee wrote firmly into Public Law 408 these standards that the chairman has just described. And I can assure you that the executive branch of the Government is carrying forward that mandate.

Senator HOLLAND. Mr. Chairman, may I ask one question of Mr. Rostow on what he has just testified?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Senator HOLLAND. I notice in Senator Miller's statement—and I think it is a fine statement—he laid some emphasis on the matter of family planning, which is a euphonious way of mentioning birth control. Of course, the Department of Agriculture cannot handle that. The Department of State is the only agency we have got which can handle that sort of negotiation with a foreign friendly nation. Is the Department of State laying emphasis upon that factor, which I think is for the long run probably one of the most important factors in this whole picture?

Mr. ROSTOW. I am happy to answer your question, Senator Holland, although I certainly would not claim that either I or any other member of the Department of State is a medical expert in the field.

Senator HOLLAND. You are the negotiating agency, though—

Mr. ROSTOW. Oh, surely.

Senator HOLLAND (continuing). With our foreign friends on matters of important policy, and maybe you do not agree, but I think this is one of the most important matters of policy for the Indian people and the Indian Government that is embraced in this whole field. Do you agree with that?

Mr. ROSTOW. I fully agree with that.

Senator HOLLAND. What is the Department of State doing if anything in furthering that point of view?

Mr. Rostow. We are in constant touch with the Government of India and with other governments facing this problem seeking to encourage them to develop the kind of approach to family planning that we have here. They face special difficulties and special needs. But we are at pains to point out that we are not asking them to undertake programs that are not popular and have been used and had their impact on population growth in the Western countries.

The Government of India has given almost as high a priority now to family planning as to agriculture itself. In the current 5-year plan which is going into effect at this time they are planning to spend three times as much as was spent in this field in the past 5-year plans put together. And when I was out there I talked to the experts on the subject, and of course we had all kinds of reports. And we talked not only to the government people, but to the Rockefeller Foundation people who worked there and the Ford Foundation people who are in very close touch with the private agency. They are moving on all fronts in this area, and they are putting some of their very best people to work on it. They are training medical personnel. And they are developing and manufacturing in India a very large number of contraceptive devices.

They are engaged in a program of providing economic incentives for men who are fathers of three or four children to undergo vasectomies. And they are considering in their legislature legislation of the type which Japan has adopted legitimizing abortions. That action has not yet been taken. But we are satisfied that they are moving with great energy and making progress in this extremely difficult field, and that there is hope that the great flow of population will be brought under control there as it has been in Japan.

Senator MILLER. Could I add a footnote to what Mr. Rostow said?

Senator Holland, I visited eight different states during my trip. And in all of the major cities there are family planning clinics all over the place. In Bombay, for example, it seemed as though there was a family planning clinic in almost every block. There was a tremendous amount of advertising on it. The reports that I read in the newspapers indicated that literally thousands of family planning clinics were being established and have been established, not only in the cities, but out in the villages.

I read a report in the newspaper regarding the progress in one State. Now, I do not say that this is a typical State, but this is one State, and I think it is indicative, and especially when you realize that they have only started moving on this within the last year or two, that 50 percent of the adult population in that State accepted the idea of family planning. However, only 25 percent of the adult population were trying to do something about it. And some of them were having problems.

But I think in the face of the traditions and customs of India, it is tremendous dramatic progress in a period of a year or two. And as Mr. Rostow pointed out, their plans are to expand upon this. I think they should be given credit for a very dramatic progress in this area.

Senator HOLLAND. And to wind up my own questions on this, are we to understand that the State Department is aggressively presenting this point of view constantly to the responsible Government of India and its various States?

Mr. ROSTOW. Indeed we are, sir.

And I might add, to indicate the importance the Department attaches to the population problem generally in our relations with the rest of the world, we have set up a separate office on population matters under one of our senior officials, an excellent man named Philander Claxton. He works full time on this subject and on nothing else.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any further questions?

Secretary FREEMAN. Mr. Chairman, I might just make the point that a comparable reorganization and concentration in these areas has been made in the AID agency to which I know Mr. Waters could attest.

STATEMENT OF HERBERT J. WATERS, ASSISTANT ADMINISTRATOR FOR MATERIAL RESOURCES, AGENCY FOR INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Mr. WATERS. That is right, Mr. Chairman and Senator Holland. We have recognized in the guidance given us by this committee, during especially the Food for Peace Act, as well as the committee in the House, we have grouped together now in AID the activities on the use of our food aid, and agricultural development and population and nutrition, as one focal point in this war on hunger. Within just the last 2 weeks we have expanded our population staff in AID to some 28 specialists, medical doctors in this field, and put them in a position to make sure that when we go forward with our recommendations on the self-help components of these food agreements, that population and family planning and nutrition and agricultural development is given equal weight and consideration in what we are going to ask the other countries to do.

Senator MCGOVERN. I would like to address a question to Secretary Freeman or Mr. Rostow, either one.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand Mr. Rostow desires to leave.

Mr. ROSTOW. No.

Senator MCGOVERN. It does not make any difference which gentleman answers it.

On the bottom of page 1 and the top of page 2 of the resolution is a statement that we have already committed \$25 million in emergency food relief for CARE, and other voluntary agencies, to help meet the India crisis. Is that a true statement?

Senator MILLER. May I answer that question? That is a drafting error for which Senator McGee and I claim responsibility. And the Senator probably did not see this correction that was placed on our desk this morning. But that word "including" should read "plus." So that this \$25 million to CARE and other agencies in addition to the 3 million tons—or the 8 to 10 millions tons—of grain estimated to be needed.

Senator MCGOVERN. Has the \$25 million been given, or has it not?

Senator MILLER. No, this is in addition, to be a follow-on part of the overall AID program to India.

Senator MCGOVERN. When was that emergency food relief requested by CARE and the other voluntary agencies?

Secretary FREEMAN. Mr. Waters can probably answer that best, because that program is administered by AID.

Mr. WATERS. Senator, there has been some misunderstanding on this donation program through the voluntary agencies. We have an ongoing program in India through the voluntary agencies in addition to a concessional sales program that for fiscal year 1967 amounted to about \$50 million worth of food supplies being distributed to some 16 million people throughout India by CARE, the Catholic Charities, the Church World Services, the Lutheran World Relief, and some other voluntary agencies. The planning of the level of that program was based upon the conditions last fall to accommodate to the levels of the monsoon drought, when last fall's crop failed. However, since that time the best information we had indicated there was a possibility of the spring crop coming in in the heaviest drought-stricken areas, and that we would be able to accommodate the program up until about April. However, since then the conditions of a later winter drought indicates a poor prospect for the spring crop, and makes the situation more serious up in the critical areas of the drought.

The organizations themselves came forward in late December to ask for a reappraisal of the level of their program to ask for its expansion. We have been considering that expansion since that time. And we did feel that with the magnitude of this program, when the decision is made to consult and review with Congress on the total level of the food aid program to India, that this additional amount planned for the donation program should always be subject to congressional review.

However, to avoid any breakdown in the distribution in the heavy drought areas, we have authorized the voluntary agencies to pull ahead on their total years commitment for the fiscal year 1967 in the first two quarters, so they could pull ahead with their programs, and also to divert from programs in other areas of India with heavy drought. As a result, as of December the agencies were serving some 600,000 people up in Bihar, the area where the drought is the most severe. And currently they are distributing food to about 3.6 million people in that area. They propose to expand that program to get to about 7 million or so up in that area. The \$25 million asked for under this will be a start on that expansion. It is too early to say whether the \$25 million will be enough.

Senator MCGOVERN. That request, as I understand it, was made in November?

Mr. WATERS. Late December.

Senator MCGOVERN. And no part of that has yet been actually committed?

Mr. WATERS. That is right.

Senator MCGOVERN. One other question, Mr. Chairman. What is the reason for this resolution? Does not the President have all the authority he needs under the legislation which passed last October, the food for peace extension and enlargement, to do everything that he needs to do in this area?

Secretary FREEMAN. There are two reasons, Senator McGovern, why the President asked the Congress to review this matter and to advise with him in this somewhat formal fashion.

First of all, the Congress passed the resolution last year, and the greatest movement of grain ever made to any country in the history of mankind was made by this Nation to India last year. And the President felt that there should be a thorough report and review in

connection with that in consultation with the Department and the Congress, because it was not intended, nor did we think it would be necessary a year ago to have a repeat process.

Number two, the situation has now changed. We no longer have surpluses. The President wished this committee, and in the process of these hearings, the Nation, to know that the American people are going to have to pay for this dollar for dollar, and we are going to have to produce it as such. And that is the reason the dollars are in the President's message, so that there would be adequate consultation in connection with it. And it has been said again and again, the Congress would be in on the taking off as well as be in on the landing.

Mr. Rostow. Mr. Chairman, could I add one word to the answer to Senator McGovern's question?

The President felt that the issue was of such great moment, and of such a scale, and that we were approaching the world community on such a broad and vigorous footing, and that it was so necessary for people to understand the perspective of this problem as part of a long-range and considered strategy in the war against hunger, that we would be most persuasive in the world community if we had a firm foundation of agreement on this major issue between the Congress and the executive branch, reached after a discussion which would reach out and touch the feelings of the American people themselves.

Senator McGOVERN. Is it not a fact, though, that the Congress last year provided considerably more food-aid authority than the administration now envisions using in 1967, and perhaps in 1968? In other words, we passed legislation authorizing \$2.5 billion annually for our food-aid program for 1967 and 1968. And we had a carryover of another \$2.4 billion. The administration really has no plans to use all of that authority, does it, at this point?

Secretary FREEMAN. I think the administration is doing exactly what the Congress intended and what the Congress set out. The Congress set out an appropriation and authorization, in effect, because this program is funded through the Commodity Credit Corporation, and then it set down some very strict guidelines. Those guidelines were incorporated in the self-help criteria. That criteria is now being applied.

It is true that the volume contemplated, based upon last year, has not this year nationally been as extensive as it had been in the prior year. But that does not mean for a moment that we have not been moving forward very aggressively with this program under the guidelines sent down by the Congress, because indeed we have.

And I might say that if we had not, and if we were not insisting as strongly as we are, and living up to the requirements set down by this committee and the Congress, I do not think we would be seeing the progress in agriculture that we are now beginning to see in some countries around the world.

Senator McGOVERN. Mr. Secretary, I personally approve and appreciate the efforts that have been made to get other countries involved in the food aid program, and also to get the receiving countries to do more on their own. But are we not risking painting ourselves into a corner on this resolution with the kind of language that appears at the bottom of page 2, and in the center paragraph on page 3, in which we seem to be saying that no matter what the conditions are with reference to starvation and acute hunger in India, no matter

whether we miss our estimates or whether the Indian estimates turn out to be wrong, or even if it turns out that other countries are unable to match on a 50-50 basis that we will not provide food aid unless other countries match our effort. As I read this resolution, we are restricted to providing no more than an additional 3 million tons of grain unless the other countries contribute an equal amount. What if they cannot do it? Are we not painted into a corner by this resolution?

Secretary FREEMAN. This of course is the note on which the Chairman opened these hearings. And his feeling was that we were not painted in the corner strongly enough. I think this resolution seeks——

Senator McGOVERN. That shows that this is not a unanimous committee.

Secretary FREEMAN. Nothing in agriculture is unanimous.

I would say no, we are not per se painted in a corner. But I would say that there is a strong element of truth in what you say, because we are going to insist that other countries share in this. And it has been my experience that if we do not insist, and if we are not mighty tough minded, why, frankly, they would not. It is very easy to say, let John do it. And I think we have got to take a very tough minded stance on this if we are going to get the action we need from the other developed countries and from the less developed countries as well. It is a very fine middle line. But I would answer your question by saying "No."

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Secretary, are we to understand that this resolution in no manner changes the present law?

Secretary FREEMAN. That is correct, sir.

Senator McGOVERN. But it does change the present law, Mr. Chairman, in that it limits our additional assistance on the condition that other countries match it. We did put a provision into the act we passed in 1966 to encourage greater participation. But nowhere did we spell out a rigid formula that we would not provide additional aid where it was needed by a starving country unless it matched dollar for dollar by other countries.

The CHAIRMAN. If the Senator remembers, we tried to put that in, I know I did. But the committee would not go along.

Senator McGOVERN. That is just the point I am trying to make, Mr. Chairman, the committee did not go along.

The CHAIRMAN. It would seem to me that if we are to get assistance from these other people, and have India to do her best, if we could limit to what we have in here at least at the beginning, that it will be a step in the right direction.

Senator McGOVERN. Mr. Chairman, I think in all fairness to the committee I should indicate my intention at the proper time to——

The CHAIRMAN. Make it 100 percent?

Senator McGOVERN. No, to change that language so that we have a little more flexibility. I would like to see the word "equal" replaced with some such term as "appropriate participation."

The CHAIRMAN. Do you not think that is a big loophole, Senator?

Senator McGOVERN. No. I trust our negotiators to do everything they can to get the participation of other countries. I have great confidence in Secretary Freeman and the Secretary of State and the AID Administrator and others who are charged with this program.

And I think they will negotiate a tough-minded agreement. I do not think we ought to back ourselves into this corner. This resolution is not asking for additional authority, it is limiting the authority we already have. This is a resolution of limitation.

The CHAIRMAN. As I understand you, Senator, you would really want to produce food to give away, that is what you are saying, in effect?

Senator McGOVERN. That is not only my position, but I think it is a high-priority matter for this country to be able to do that; to carry on an all-out war on hunger.

The CHAIRMAN. You have your views. You will be able to express them in the vote.

Senator McGOVERN. I think that is the intention of the Food for Peace Act we passed in 1966. In my judgment that is the fundamental character of that legislation, that for the first time it does authorize us to go into the production of food to meet the needs of people abroad. That is the difference between that act and what we had before.

Senator MILLER. May I respond to that?

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Holland.

Senator HOLLAND. We had a surplus before, and we were parceling out that surplus. And we knew last year that that surplus was not in existence anymore. And the question we were facing was whether or not we are going to set up a program of bringing a large acreage back into production, and asking farmers to produce more, for the sole purpose of continuing a program that we laid out in that legislation.

Without at all indicating how I shall act on this resolution, I see the point that Senator McGovern has raised, that this is a resolution of limitation, and that it in effect asks us whether or not we are still of the mind we were last October when we passed that legislation, and it asks us, if we are not still of that same mind, to indicate how far we are willing to go in pursuing that same objective. And insofar as the interpretation of the resolution is concerned, as Senator McGovern has stated it, I think he has stated it accurately.

Senator MILLER. May I make a comment?

I do not think we intended to change the law by this resolution, because you will note the language on page 3 simply states that the Congress recommends. We are not saying that Congress has decided. We are saying that Congress recommends. Under the overall authority of the Food for Peace Act of 1966 the President, the executive branch, if he wishes, he can ignore this recommendation, as I understand it.

Senator McGOVERN. This resolution is a request from the administration.

Senator MILLER. It is a recommendation setting forth a statement by Congress which endorses a statement by the President of the United States that he wants to see a 50-50 deal from here on. And we are in effect saying, we endorse that policy, and we recommend that so much food aid be given under that policy. But the President can change his policy. And I do not think he is painted into a corner by this. But I think it would be unfortunate if we did not go along with the President's policy on this. And that is all this does, is to recommend in line with that policy. It does not tell him that he has

got to have a policy. It endorses a policy which he might change tomorrow. And it states a recommendation. And I submit that this does not change the basic law.

Senator MONDALE. I have a few questions to ask if I might.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Senator MONDALE. Mr. Secretary, do you regard this resolution, if adopted, to be an absolute limitation upon you and upon the Government not to exceed the 3 million tons which we in effect support?

Secretary FREEMAN. No.

Senator MONDALE. How do you define the term "equal participation" as used at the bottom of page 2?

Secretary FREEMAN. 50-50.

Senator MONDALE. In other words, we mean the United States will contribute one-half in quantity of that contributed by all of the world?

Secretary FREEMAN. That is correct; one-half of the total.

Senator MONDALE. What about the consideration that ought to be given to nations in terms of their effort, which might be determined by the percentage of their production that they contribute? I have been told—I am not sure of this—that at this point the Canadians have made a bigger contribution, perhaps from the standpoint of percentage of their production, to India food needs than we have. Would that be accurate?

Secretary FREEMAN. I think that is true.

Senator MONDALE. Is there any way of fashioning a program to reward nations which make this extraordinary contribution, by matching it similarly, so that we do not just look at the United States and the rest of the world, but the United States and individual national contributors.

Secretary FREEMAN. I know of none to be quite that precise—and I will defer in a moment to Mr. Rostow. What we are trying to do, frankly, is to get the countries that have done nothing, or so little that you could put it in an eye dropper, to get in the ball game. How that will work out we do not know. But what we are saying is, if you cannot produce wheat, put in money to buy wheat. If that could be worked out through the auspices of the consortium of the World Bank it could well be that those purchases that they did put up would be related to countries that made a significant contribution. But that system would have to be worked out with the consortium and the Bank in the process of negotiation.

Is that correct?

Mr. Rostow. Perhaps I can add a few words in answer to your question about the meaning of the word "equal," Senator Mondale, in the resolution at the bottom of page 2.

You will recall that last year when we tried to organize an international effort to meet the famine conditions in India it was an ad hoc thing, it did not have any ongoing form of organization. Now, at the present time we are proposing that the consortium chaired by the World Bank should take this on as an ongoing responsibility, for as long as there is a need of this kind.

We are also in the Kennedy round proposing an International Grains Agreement which would have a food aid component. And where that would fit in, and how the ultimate organization of food aid provisions for India and other countries in need would be handled remains to be seen. But for the moment, and in the intermediate period, at least, we are planning to put this into the consortium.

In the consortium what we are proposing is, we take an equal share with the other consortium members. And in calculating that share Canada's extraordinary fine leadership in this field is taken into account.

Now, there are other countries, such as the Soviet Union, and Australia, which have also contributed food to meet India's need which are not members of the consortium. And that part of the total need that the consortium would bear could take into account contributions from other countries which are not members which we intend to invite to participate.

Senator MONDALE. It seems to me that this resolution is trying to strike at two objectives. One, an expression by the Congress that we support the administration in this gift or sale for concession purposes of up to 3 million tons.

And two, that we endorse and encourage the administration's effort to engage in this international sharing of objectives, that we do not intend to bear this all alone in the future.

I recall that when we were considering the matter of international sharing in discussing the Food for Peace Act in 1966, the idea of tying it down 50-50 was specifically proposed. And many of us opposed it on the ground that this was so complicated and so difficult that we could not spell it out in a congressional act. We knew that our administrators understood the need for sharing. And thus we compromised on a resolution which I sponsored calling for more international cooperation, but in effect leaving it up to the Executive to try to fashion it.

Is it possible that we could state our continuing desire and demand and insistence upon international cooperation from others, and in effect endorse what I think the Secretary of Agriculture and the State Department and others are clearly doing in far greater magnitude than anything we have ever seen before, without being quite as specific as we are here, so that it might be interpreted as a more rigid ceiling or more rigid limitation when you finally get down to the final allocation?

Secretary FREEMAN. Frankly, I would hesitate to see this language softened. I think we need all the muscle we can have in dealing with other countries to get them to get in the ball game.

Now, this refers to India. The record refers to all countries. And in many of the other countries we are not applying the same standard. But in India, 8, 10, 12 million tons for how long and how much? I just think we have got to follow a fairly firm policy on this, and I would not want to see it softened.

The CHAIRMAN. I am glad the Secretary made that point, because as he said, we are dealing here with India, and last year we furnished 80 percent of all the grain that she received. And the year before I think we furnished almost 100 percent. Now, are we to continue that with India?

Senator MONDALE. I am not objecting to it, indeed I am applauding the effort to get increased cooperation from other nations. And I was the sponsor of the resolution or the amendment which was included as a part of the Food for Peace Act which makes it the sense of the Congress, as I recall the specific terms, that we do just that. What bothers me is whether the specificity in this resolution is not such that it might end up at least making it embarrassing for the administration to show more flexibility in the final analysis.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not think you are going to embarrass the administration in this field.

Mr. ROSTOW. Mr. Chairman, can I add a few words here?

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

Mr. ROSTOW. I want it clear, as I said in the House committee yesterday, that full matching of our deliveries may not be possible of achievement this year. We are working at it. We have not by any means given up hope. But I do not want to create any false impression that full agreement has been reached. We are in motion, and everybody agrees with our approach, but everybody has problems about money, too.

In the second place, I agree fully with what Senator Miller said, and what Congressman Dole said on the House side yesterday in the approach to the resolution. We do not think we are too tightly tied in here so long as the nature of the position is exactly understood. The President's message spoke in terms of appropriate—as long as this discussion in approaching the task of interpreting this resolution appropriately defines the sense of Congress it will give us an adequate base for our diplomatic position.

Senator MONDALE. I think the word "appropriate" is wonderful. But you use the word "equal."

Mr. ROSTOW. That is our objective.

Senator MONDALE. Let me ask you this. And you don't have to give me an answer.

Could you get some kind of report on whether this United States use-of-surplus-currency provision of the Food for Peace Act is being used in India, and if so, how?

Secretary FREEMAN. Yes, sir; it is. And it is a part of the negotiation that has taken place under the 2 million tons that the President did allocate at the time he sent the message to the Congress, some of the provisions of the new food-for-freedom program have been applied. And there is going to be some of these funds used for population control, and some used for new credit developments. And they are going to be directed very strongly—and this is only the beginning—there will be more use of funds as this committee indicated, and I think it was a very wise provision, and to plow back into agricultural development some of the surplus Indian currency in rupees that we have.

(The information is as follows:)

USE OF SURPLUS CURRENCY

Present plans call for the utilization of the rupee equivalent of about \$330 million for the support of agriculture programs in India. This amounts to 70% of all US owned local currency funds programmed for economic development in India this year.

The Sales Agreement included on February 20, 1967 (covering commodities valued at \$135 million and including 2 million tons of food grains), provides for the allocation of 10% of the sales proceeds for maternal and child welfare, nutrition and population programs.

The agreement also sets aside 12% for grants and 65% for loans for economic development, most of which is planned to be allocated to the support of agriculture programs.

The CHAIRMAN. Senator Montoya.

Senator MONTOYA. I would like to ask Mr. Rostow this question.

Isn't this resolution merely a sense of Congress resolution endorsing what the President has done in the past and what he intends to

do in the future, which is not definitive enough as delineated in the resolution, it has no force and effect of law?

Mr. ROSTOW. As far as its constitutional status is concerned I agree entirely with what Senator Miller said about it, I think that, was an admirable and very clear statement. I wouldn't say it was merely a sense of Congress resolution. The sense of Congress is a very important thing.

Senator MONTROYA. Where is a positive mandate in this resolution to enforce any stated policy?

Mr. ROSTOW. I think it is, as Senator Miller said, a resolution declaring the opinion of Congress on a very important matter which does not change the fundamental legislation. The legislation itself is referred to in the first line. And I agree with Senator Miller that this resolution is not an amendment, and it would not be considered an amendment of the statute.

Senator MONTROYA. Now, in the Food for Peace Act the committee was led to believe, and the act provides, that in the extension of food aid to different countries that they must satisfy a criterion for agricultural development toward self-sufficiency. Now, this resolution, if it has any semblance to law, the effects of it would be to cast aside the requirement of satisfying that criterion, because there is no specification that satisfaction of that criterion should be adhered to.

Mr. ROSTOW. Senator, at the top of page 3 of the resolution you will see a clear reference to terms and conditions set forth in Public Law 480 as amended. And I can assure you, as Secretary Freeman has testified, that the executive branch in approaching this subject does not regard this resolution in any way as qualifying Public Law 480 in this or any other respect. On the contrary, the agreements now being made with the Government of India are based squarely on Public Law 480, and indeed one of the major purposes of our whole policy is to encourage the Government of India in its very active efforts to improve its overall agricultural performance.

Secretary FREEMAN. May I add to that, Mr. Waters, the Associate Administrator of AID, just handed me a statement that was cleared by the Indian Cabinet and which was announced publicly at the time of the signing of the agreement on the last Presidential allocation. I have not had a chance to read this, except a quick scan. But he informs me that there is a very affirmative and clear statement which documents the additional steps that there may be pursuant to the self-help requirements.

Senator MONTROYA. Is it just a promise that he will take steps?

Secretary FREEMAN. May I put this in the record?

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection.

(The material referred to follows:)

TEXT OF PREPARED STATEMENT READ TO PRESS REPRESENTATIVES BY GOI
MINISTRY OF FOOD SPOKESMAN ON FEBRUARY 10, 1967

The Government of India have decided on 1971 as the "cut off date" after which no further concessional imports of wheat will be sought. To make this possible, the target of achieving self-sufficiency in production of foodgrains by 1970-71 is to be pursued vigorously and all necessary support in the shape of inputs and organization will be made available. Two major encouraging factors which have enabled Government to take this decision have been the widespread keenness of the farmers to use chemical fertilizers and the success of high yielding varieties of seed.

Full advantage is being availed of these two factors to extend in 1967-68 the scope of the new agricultural strategy, given a limited trial in 1966-67, by concentrating on those elements which can yield quick results and for which there is a strong motivation among the farmers and preparedness in the States. The high yielding varieties programme for 1967-68 aims at covering 15 million acres of land with assured water supply (irrigated areas)—6 million under paddy and 3.5 million under wheat and 5.5 million under millets as compared to 6.2 million acres during 1966-67.

Arrangements have been completed with the State Governments and the National Seeds Corporation for making available required quantities of seeds for the kharif high yielding varieties crops to cover an area of 7.85 million acres. The seed requirements for the Rabi programme, which will cover an area of 7.15 million acres, is being organized.

The requirement of fertilizers for the high yielding varieties programme for 1967-68 has been estimated at 500,000 tonnes in terms of nitrogen and arrangements have been made to make this available. The necessary phosphatic fertilizer for the programme is also being organised. 10,000 tonnes of technical grade material for pesticides are also being arranged. The Reserve Bank of India is collaborating in making special credit arrangements for the high yielding varieties programme.

Official teams of the Central Department of Agriculture are, at the moment, busy in identifying areas, drawing up procedures for participating farmers and formulating other measures necessary for ensuring that the inputs envisaged actually reach the grower.

The H.V. Programme will be supplemented by a multiple cropping programme under which additional crops in about 7½ million acres of irrigated land will be grown during 1967-68. In these areas while improved seeds will be used, the dosage of fertilizer will be less than in the case of H.V.P.

The emphasis in this programme would be the growing of short duration grains and legumes to be introduced during intervals or as overlapping growth to existing crops. The necessary fertilizer for the programme is also being organised.

An additional area of about 200,000 acres will be brought under intensive production programme of raising potatoes and vegetables and the package of improved practices will be introduced in selected areas for oilseeds, sugarcane, etc.

A comprehensive minor irrigation and water utilization programme will form part of the intensified efforts. During 1967-68 an additional 3 to 3.5 million acres of land will be provided with minor irrigation facilities through 2.3 lakh pumps, 23,400 tubewells and 1.5 million masonry dug wells besides kutchha wells as against an area of 3 million acres which benefitted in 1966-67 through 2.1 lakh pump sets, 20,000 tubewells and 1.4 lakh masonry wells. The programme of rural electrification is being suitably augmented for meeting the needs of agriculture. Special attention will be paid to water utilisation in the command area of both major and minor irrigation works. A special unit has been set up in the Department of Agriculture and an Ayacut (command area) Development Programme has been drawn up. Soil conservation measures, which covered 3.8 acres in 1966-67, will be stepped up in the light of current discussions with State Governments. Similarly plant protection measures, which covered only 63 million acres in 1966-67, will be extended to 126 million acres. In cooperation with the Ministry of Industry and Department of Coordination, arrangements are being made for stepping up the indigenous production of agricultural machinery. Agro Industries Corporations will be set up in the States and these Corporations will organise in the interior areas facilities for hire purchase of agricultural machinery by growers.

The programme aiming at farmers training envisages demonstration-cum-training camps by Peripatetic Teams of Specialists, Farmers Institutes and Farmers Discussion Groups. Agricultural Research which has, of late, come close to the field of operations will be harnessed vigorously to field operations through demonstration projects as in the past supplemented by demonstration farms at the rate of six per block. A coordinated research programme for about 20 commodities has been undertaken. In a number of States new "Field Problems Units" are being set up to act as a link between research stations, Government, Agriculture Departments and Field Operational staff.

Senator MONTROYA. Is it a promise that they will take the steps, or a manifestation that they have already launched ways and means and blueprints to realize the objectives that we had in mind?

Secretary FREEMAN. It is both. And if you read my statement, I have set down clearly and in considerable detail what they have done which the committee had in mind.

Senator MONTOYA. Here is another question that I want to direct to either the Secretary or Mr. Rostow.

On line 19, the bottom of page 2, we have used the words "equal participation on the part of the United States"; we endorse the President's policy of equal participation on the part of the United States. And then we go to line 10 of page 3, and we recommend that "the United States provide an additional amount of food grain not to exceed 3 million tons at an estimated cost of \$190 million as the U.S. share toward meeting the India food deficit, provided it is appropriately matched". Now, that is not synonymous with equal participation, is it?

Mr. ROSTOW. Well, our objective, Senator—

Senator MONTOYA. There could be a 10-90 matching. Those words are meaningless as we know matching in this country.

Mr. ROSTOW. Well, we have tried to explain to you, sir, what our target and our goal in these negotiations is. It is explained in the President's food message. And what we are trying to do is move from a position in which we have been supplying a very large part of India's food needs from our surpluses to a position where the consortium organized by the World Bank takes on responsibility for coordination of the Indian food aid program just as it does the ongoing program of economic assistance generally. And in that food consortium we would propose to match on an equal basis the contributions of others toward meeting these food needs.

Now, that is our target.

Senator MONTOYA. Maybe that is your objective, and I commend it. But the sense of Congress here puts us on record as approving any kind of a matching less than that objective.

Mr. ROSTOW. I haven't read the resolution in that way, sir.

Senator MONTOYA. Do you agree with that interpretation?

Mr. ROSTOW. Surely.

Senator MILLER. May I add a footnote?

I am sorry the Senator wasn't here when I made my opening statement. But I pointed out that the intention in this language was that all of the other nations in the world match it on a 50-50 basis. And I pointed out that matching takes the form of food, of actual food grains, or of cash to enable India to buy food in the world market, or possibly fertilizer and seed, which is only one crop harvest removed from actual food. I believe it is the intention of the administration to try to negotiate with these other countries, or help India negotiate with these other countries, to have that type of matching. We are not talking about the United States putting up so much wheat and all of the other nations putting up so much wheat, necessarily. We want to have some flexibility in here. And I did try to bring that out in my opening statement as a matter of clarifying the meaning that we have attached to this language.

Senator MONTOYA. I am not speaking of the objective that the Department or the administration has in mind. I am speaking of the implications in this resolution by virtue of the wording thereof.

Now, you mentioned that the World Bank was organizing a consortium. Now, what steps have been taken toward the organization of this consortium?

Mr. ROSTOW. This consortium, Senator, exists, and it has functioned now for a period of 5 or 6 years, at any rate, with considerable success in the aid field generally. And the head of the World Bank has agreed, and the other members are in the process of agreeing, to take on this additional responsibility as a part of the work of the consortium itself.

Senator MONTROYA. May I stop you right there?

Mr. ROSTOW. Surely.

Senator MONTROYA. I am fully acquainted with consortiums on foreign aid that have been entered into by the different countries, say Germany and Japan and some others. But under those consortiums we have put our money and dollars in there, and we have deferred the interest payments, and we have not required in most of those consortiums dollar repayments of what we put in there.

Mr. ROSTOW. I think you will find, sir, that as I recall the plan for this, the actual aid arrangements are made bilaterally. The consortium exists to coordinate the aid efforts of the different countries. They exchange information about what they are doing, and they attempt to agree on the approach. And of course they consult with the governments, the Government of India in this case, about what shall be done. So that they exercise through that process of consultation a good deal of influence on India's own plans. Our loans toward India are paid in dollars.

Senator MONTROYA. The ones made by the World Bank are paid in dollars?

Mr. ROSTOW. The loans are made by our own Government.

Senator MONTROYA. How much repayment have we received from India in dollars?

Mr. ROSTOW. I will have to ask the AID agency that.

Senator MONTROYA. First, let me ask you, how much in dollar loans have we made to India, and how much has India repaid in dollars? I want that in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. That can be put in the record.

Mr. ROSTOW. I will be very glad to obtain that information.

Senator MONTROYA. I want that in the record.

(The information is as follows:)

EXTENSION OF LOANS AND REPAYMENTS

The United States has extended loans totalling \$2.8 billion for economic development purposes through the end of FY 1966. \$2,054 million are repayable in US dollars and \$750 million are repayable in Indian currency.

Through June 30, 1966, India has repaid \$145 million in U.S. dollars and \$203 million in local currency in servicing these loans.

Senator MONTROYA. And I also want in the record how much we have extended to India in sales of surplus commodities, and how much repayment has come back into the Treasury. And if any repayments have been made, what has been the disposition of those payments.

I am assuming that most of those payments are in rupees, local currencies, which have in turn been regranted to India for other uses, such as health purposes, hospitals, and other things.

The CHAIRMAN. Education.

Senator MONTROYA. And education.

So I want this picture developed statistically by category, so that we can have an idea whether or not this is a sale-of-commodities program, or whether in truth and in fact it is a grant program with

the Secretary never expecting to receive any dollar repayments either in the immediate future or in the far distant future.

Mr. ROSTOW. I shall be very happy to provide that information, Senator.

(The information is as follows:)

DISPOSITION OF LOCAL CURRENCY PROCEEDS OF P.L. 480 SALES TO INDIA

Sales of agricultural commodities under P.L. 480 total \$3,540,000 through the end of US FY 1966.

About \$490 million of rupee sales proceeds have been set aside for the administrative expenses of U.S. government agencies in India and are administered by the U.S. Treasury Department. Expenditures are at the approximate rate of \$30 million per year.

\$102 million equivalent in rupees has been lent to U.S. affiliated enterprises under the so-called Cooley amendment. \$15.4 million equivalent has been repaid through June 30, 1966.

Through June 30, 1966, the rupee equivalent of \$1,106 million in rupees has been lent to the Indian government to support projects in the fields of power, irrigation, development banking, and education. \$98 million has been repaid.

Finally, the rupee equivalent of \$615 million has been provided to the Indian government on a grant in support of projects in the fields of agriculture, health and education.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any further questions on the resolution?

Senator HOLLAND. Mr. Chairman, when others are through I have another question.

The CHAIRMAN. You may proceed.

Senator HOLLAND. Mr. Secretary, I notice that the provisions of this resolution are a little flexible on the amount of both money and the tonnage of food grain. With respect to the tonnage of food grain the wording is "not to exceed 3 million tons." And with respect to the money it says "at an estimated cost of \$190 million." And later there is the provision that the committee specifically extend its support to the allocation of "approximately \$190 million of funds."

I have tried to figure that out as best I can to discover how much per bushel is this amount to cover, including transportation and storage, how much, therefore, will be left for the producer?

Now, can you give us those figures?

Secretary FREEMAN. I will be glad to give you those figures in detail for the record.

However, this is extremely difficult to be precise about. And we have used the word "approximately"—when I say "we," I mean the Senator and others consulting with us—because of this fact, that we get into two different accounting periods within the Commodity Credit Corporation, something that Senator Holland is thoroughly familiar with. We get into different kinds of transportation conditions, some going on American bottoms, and some going on other kinds of shipping which is paid by the receiving company. We are dealing with two different kinds of commodities here, of sorghum and wheat. So that it doesn't lend itself to a quick answer. But I would say roughly that this comes down to about \$70 a ton on wheat, and it comes down to somewhere in the neighborhood of \$50 a ton for sorghum.

Ed, is that about right in round figures?

Mr. JAENKE. I had it in bushels in my mind. It is around \$1.85 per bushel on wheat.

Secretary FREEMAN. That is really what the Senator was asking. The \$1.85 on wheat. And how much on sorghum?

Senator HOLLAND. That \$1.85 includes all cost in addition to what goes to the producer. Now, how is that broken down?

Mr. JAENKE. The \$1.85 is at port positions. And then the domestic transportation of 25 to 35 cents would be subtracted before you get back—

Secretary FREEMAN. Roughly \$1.50 to \$1.55.

Mr. JAENKE. Yes.

Senator HOLLAND. \$1.45, \$1.50, \$1.55.

Secretary FREEMAN. Yes.

Senator HOLLAND. Will you recheck those figures?

Secretary FREEMAN. Yes.

(The information is as follows:)

In arriving at the estimated cost of this program, we figured wheat at about \$69.00 per ton or \$1.88 per bushel and sorghums at \$52.00 per ton or \$1.32 per bushel. Now, costs to move wheat through our marketing system run from 30 to 35 cents per bushel, while for sorghums the cost will be about 25 to 30 cents per bushel. Therefore, for wheat we would say the farmer would receive from \$1.53 to \$1.58 per bushel and from \$1.02 to \$1.07 per bushel for the sorghums. These are, of course only estimates and changing conditions would result in different estimates.

Senator HOLLAND. It seems to me that that is larger than the amount would be. As I figured this, there is about \$63 million for every million bushels. And that doesn't figure as high as the figure that has just been indicated.

But please restudy that and put it in the record.

Secretary FREEMAN. As you well know, it is a very highly complicated one, because of the different accounting system.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any further questions on the resolution?

Senator YOUNG. Do you plan to include any shipments of soybean oil under this resolution?

Secretary FREEMAN. There is currently an allocation of soybean oil. It is not directly under this resolution, except that some would move under the \$35 million allocation to CARE. There has not yet been a full drawdown on the soybean availabilities that made allocation a year ago.

That is also true of cotton.

Senator YOUNG. Do you plan to deal with anything else?

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, yes.

If there are no more questions on the resolution, I will consider the hearings closed on the resolution.

(Whereupon, at 11:40 a.m., the hearing on the above entitled matter was concluded, and the committee proceeded to other business.)

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY

Public Law 90-7
H. J. Res. 267

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INDEX AND SUMMARY OF H. J. RES. 267

Feb.	2, 1967	Both Houses received President's War on Hunger message. H. Doc. 51. Print of document.
Feb.	6, 1967	Sen. McGee introduced S. J. Res. 29 which was referred to Senate Agriculture and Forestry Committee. Print of bill. Rep. Poage introduced H. J. Res. 267 which was referred to House Agriculture Committee. Print of bill.
Mar.	2, 1967	House committee voted to report H. J. Res. 267.
Mar.	6, 1967	House committee reported H. J. Res. 267 with amendments. H. Report No. 67.
Mar.	7, 1967	House Rules Committee reported resolution for consideration of H. J. Res. 267.
Mar.	9, 1967	House passed H. J. Res. 267 with amendments.
Mar.	10, 1967	H. J. Res. 267 was referred to Senate Agriculture and Forestry Committee. Print of bill.
Mar.	15, 1967	Senate committee reported H. J. Res. 267 with amendment. S. Rept. No. 70.
Mar.	16, 1967	Senate passed H. J. Res. 267 as reported.
Mar.	20, 1967	House agreed to Senate amendment to H. J. Res. 267.
April	1, 1967	Approved: Public Law 90-7.

Hearings: Senate committee on S. J. Res. 29.

House committee on H. J. Res. 267.

DIGEST of Congressional Proceedings

OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20250
OFFICIAL BUSINESS

POSTAGE AND FEES PAID
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE
(FOR INFORMATION ONLY;
NOT TO BE QUOTED OR CITED)

Issued February 3, 1967
For actions of February 2, 1967
90th-1st; No. 15

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HIGHLIGHTS: Both Houses received President's message on food for India. Senate committee reported bill to establish National Water Commission.

HOUSE

1. FOOD FOR INDIA. Both Houses received the President's War on Hunger message which presents the administration's program to fight the shortage-of-food crisis. The program would involve the broad approach of self-help, multilateral participation, and comprehensive planning. To Senate Agriculture and Forestry Committee. pp. S1319-22, H918-20 (H. Doc. 51)

Several Senators and Representatives commended the President's message.
pp. H920-21, H952, H957, S1335-6, S1349, S1358

2. DEBT LIMIT. The Ways and Means Committee voted to report (but did not actually report) H. R. 4573, to provide a temporary increase in the public debt limit (p. D56) and was granted until midnight Feb. 6 to file a report (p. H926).
3. AIR POLLUTION. Rep. Carter commended proposed legislation to combat air pollution (p. H915), and Rep. Dingell inserted an article on the subject, "Menace in the Skies" (pp. H954-7).
Both Houses received a report from HEW on measures being taken to control the emission of air pollutants from Federal facilities. pp. H970, S1323
4. BUDGET. Rep. Ashbrook called the proposed budget "statistical doubletalk" and inserted an article, "Two Figures On One Budget Add Up to 1968." pp. H925-6
5. MANPOWER. Rep. Holland inserted an editorial "commenting on the need for a concerted effort to rationalize Federal programs in areas in which there exists substantial overlapping." p. H953
6. REPORT. Rep. Murphy, N. Y., inserted the report to the President by the Secretary of Commerce on the programs and progress of that Department including items of interest to USDA. pp. H958-60
7. FORESTRY. Received from the President a / report (H. Doc. 50) recommending the establishment of the San Rafael Wilderness Area. Both Houses received a proposed bill to designate the San Rafael Wilderness, Los Padres National Forest, Calif.; to Interior and Insular Affairs Committees. pp. H970, S1322
3. SUPERGRADES. Both Houses received from the Civil Service Commission a report with respect to positions in grades GS-16, GS-17, and GS-18. pp. H970, S1322
9. LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM. Rep. Albert announced that on Wed. the national debt ceiling bill will be considered. p. H917
10. ADJOURNED until Mon., Feb. 6. p. H970

SENATE

11. WATER RESOURCES. Interior and Insular Affairs Committee reported without amendment S. 20, to provide a comprehensive review of national water resources problems and programs (S. Rept. 25) p. S1323. See remarks of Sen. Jackson and others on page S1340-2.
12. FARM PAYMENTS. Sen. Talmadge commented favorably on the farm program payments. p. S1335
13. APPALACHIA. Sen. Tydings commended Sen. Randolph on the hearings now being held on the Appalachia program and inserted the testimony of one witness. pp. S1343-4
14. PARITY. Sen. Mundt criticized the decline of the farm parity ratio. p. S1352
15. FISH PROTEIN. Sen. Hart commended the FDA approval of fish protein concentrate as a food additive. p. S1359

FOOD FOR INDIA

MESSAGE

FROM

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

TRANSMITTING

A PROPOSAL THAT THE UNITED STATES JOIN AN INTERNATIONAL
EFFORT TO HELP THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA STAVE OFF THE
THREAT OF FAMINE

FEBRUARY 2, 1967.—Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the
State of the Union and ordered to be printed

To the Congress of the United States:

I

Last February I proposed that all mankind join in a war against man's oldest enemy: hunger.

Last March I proposed that the United States take part in an urgent international effort to help the Government of India stave off the threat of famine.

I address you today to report progress in organizing the war against hunger and to seek your counsel on steps still to be taken. For again this year, drought in India—as in other nations—underlines the cruel mathematics of hunger and calls for action.

The problem is immense. It cannot be solved unless each country reaches a considered judgment on the course to be pursued. The greatest power on earth is the will of free peoples, expressed through the deliberative processes of their national assemblies. I ask you today to take the lead in a vital act of democratic affirmation.

India is not alone in facing the specter of near famine. One-half of the world's people confront this same problem.

India's plight reminds us that our generation can no longer evade the growing imbalance between food production and population

growth. India's experience teaches that something more must be done about it.

From our own experience and that of other countries, we know that something can be done. We know that an agricultural revolution is within the capacity of modern science.

We know that land can be made to produce much more food—enough food for the world's population, if reasonable population policies are pursued. Without some type of voluntary population program, however, the nations of the world—no matter how generous—will not be able to keep up with the food problem.

We know, too, that failure to act—and to act now—will multiply the human suffering and political unrest, not only in our generation but in that of our children and their children.

The aim of the war against hunger is to help developing nations meet this challenge. It is the indispensable first step on the road to progress.

If we are to succeed, all nations—rich and poor alike—must join together and press the agricultural revolution with the same spirit, the same energy, and the same sense of urgency that they apply to their own national defense. Nothing less is consistent with the human values at stake.

Last year, many responded to India's emergency. Canada was particularly generous in sending food aid. Each member of the India aid consortium made a special effort to meet India's need. Non-members, Australia among others, also helped. The private contributions of the Italian and Dutch people were especially heartwarming. But the bleak facts require a sustained international effort on a greater scale. Today I propose that all nations make the new Indian emergency the occasion to start a continuing worldwide campaign against hunger.

II

The first obligation of the community of man is to provide food for all of its members. This obligation overrides political differences and differences in social systems.

No single nation or people can fulfill this common obligation. No nation should be expected to do so. Every country must participate to insure the future of all. Every country that makes a determined effort to achieve sufficiency in food will find our Government, our technical experts, and our people its enthusiastic partners. The United States is prepared to do its share.

In pursuing the war on hunger, the world must face up to stark new facts about food in our times.

Food is scarce. Nowhere is there a real surplus. Food aid must be allocated according to the same priorities that govern other development assistance.

Per capita food production in many parts of the less-developed world is not increasing. In some cases, it is even declining. This grim fact reflects both a rising curve of population and a lagging curve of agricultural production.

There is no substitute for self-help. The first responsibility of each nation is to supply the food its people needs. The war against hunger can only be won by the efforts of the developing nations themselves.

Food aid is a stopgap, not a permanent cure. It must be viewed as part of a nation's effort to achieve sufficiency in food, not as a substitute for it.

Agriculture must receive a much higher priority in development plans and programs. The developing nations can no longer take food supplies for granted, while they concentrate on industrial development alone, or spend vitally needed resources on unnecessary military equipment.

Agricultural development must be planned as part of a nation's overall economic and social program. Achieving a balance between population and resources is as important as achieving a balance between industrial and agricultural growth.

Fertilizer, seed, and pesticides must be provided in much greater quantities than ever before. Their use increases food production and permanently changes the productive capability of farmers. A ton of fertilizer properly used this year can mean several tons of grain next year.

All advanced nations—including those which import food—must share the burden of feeding the hungry and building their capacity to feed themselves.

The war on hunger is too big for governments alone. Victory cannot come unless businessmen, universities, foundations, voluntary agencies, and cooperatives join the battle.

Developing nations with food deficits must put more of their resources into voluntary family planning programs.

These are the facts your Government has been stressing throughout the world. Many of them are unpleasant. But our lives are pledged to the conviction that free people meet their responsibilities when they face the truth.

These facts draw into bold relief the two main thrusts in the offensive against hunger:

First, the hungry nations of the world must be helped to achieve the capacity to grow the food their people need or to buy what they cannot grow.

Second, until they can achieve this goal, the developed nations must help meet their needs by food shipments on generous terms.

The level of food aid will decline as self-help measures take hold. Until that point is reached, food aid is an inescapable duty of the world community.

III

During the past year, the advanced nations have made progress in preparing the ground for the international war on hunger.

First, the pattern of international cooperation has steadily improved.

Last July we were pleased to act as host to a high-level meeting of the Development Assistance Committee of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development which focused primarily on the world food problem.

We encouraged greater contributions to the world food program by increasing our pledge to that program and by offering to match with commodities contributions in both cash and commodities from other countries.

We cosponsored a resolution in the United Nations that launched a U.N.-Food and Agriculture Organization study of whether and how to organize a multilateral food aid program of vastly larger proportions.

In the Kennedy round of trade negotiations, we have advanced a proposal to make available from all sources 10 million tons of food grains annually for food aid, to be supported by grain exporters and importers alike. This proposal is now being discussed in Geneva as part of an international cereals arrangement.

We are now participating in a study initiated by the Food and Agriculture Organization—in cooperation with the World Bank, the U.N., and the OECD—to examine how multilateral action might increase the availability and effective use of fertilizers and other materials needed to speed up agricultural production.

At the OECD ministerial meeting this fall, we advanced a proposal to develop an agricultural food fund to encourage private investment in the basic agricultural industries of the developing countries.

Second, the United States encouraged a multilateral response to last year's emergency in India.

The worst drought of the century threatened millions with starvation and countless more with disease born of malnutrition. As a result, I recommended, and you in the Congress approved, a program to send over 8 million tons of food grain to India. In an unprecedented display of common concern, governments, private organizations, and individuals in 42 other nations joined in providing \$180 million in food and other commodities to meet the needs of that country. Overall, India imported almost 11 million tons of grain and used several million tons from its own emergency food reserves.

The fact that India did not experience famine ranks among the proudest chapters in the history of international cooperation. But last year's effort—heartening as it was—was hasty and improvised. The world must organize its response to famine, both today and for the years ahead.

Third, this year's economic aid program makes agricultural development a primary objective.

The AID program, which I will shortly send to the Congress, includes funds to finance imports of fertilizer, irrigation pumps, and other American equipment and know-how necessary to improve agriculture in the developing countries.

Fourth, I proposed and the Congress enacted far-reaching legislation which provides the strong foundation for the new-food-for freedom program.

The central theme of the program is self-help. The legislation authorized concessional sales of food to countries which prove their determination to expand their own food production.

IV

All of us know where the real battle is fought. Whatever the efforts in world capitals, the real tale is told on the land. It is the man behind the mule or the bullock or the water buffalo who must be reached. Only his own government and his own people can reach him.

Thus, the most important progress of the past year has occurred in the developing countries themselves. And there is progress to report.

India—the largest consumer of food aid—perhaps provides the best example.

This has been a year of innovation in Indian agriculture. Agricultural development now has top priority in India's economic plan. Much remains to be done. But the evidence is unmistakable. India has started on the right path. India has—

Imposed a food rationing system to make efficient use of existing supplies.

Streamlined its transportation system to improve distribution.

Increased prices paid to the farmer, thus providing new incentives to use fertilizer, improved seeds, and other modern materials.

Begun large-scale operations with new varieties of rice introduced from Taiwan and with large quantities of high-yielding wheat seed imported from Mexico.

Approved plans to increase public investment in agriculture by more than 100 percent during the new 5-year plan.

Started to expand rural credit, improve water supply and accelerate the distribution of fertilizer to remote areas.

Stepped up family planning.

Negotiated an agreement for the first of several externally financed fertilizer plants to expand India's supply of home-produced fertilizers.

India is off to a good start. But it is only a start. As Indian officials have warned, hard work remains in reaching targets they have set and in improving cooperation among State governments. India's economic problems are enormous. But they can be solved.

What India has begun to do represents the growing realization in the developing world that long-term economic growth is dependent on growth in agriculture. Not every country has made an effort as great as India. But in some countries, production has improved more rapidly.

Everywhere there is an air of change. No longer does industrial development alone attract the best minds and talents. Agriculture is now attracting the young and more enterprising economists, administrators, and entrepreneurs in the developing world.

This is the best measure of progress in the war on hunger and the best assurance of success.

V

India's food problem requires a major commitment of our resources and those of other advanced countries. India's population is equal to that of 66 members of the United Nations.

Broad authority exists under our legislation for national action by executive decision alone. But the issues presented here are of such moment, and on such a scale, as to make it important that we act together, as we do on other great issues, on the firm foundation of a joint resolution of Congress.

I ask you to support the broad approach we have proposed to the international community as a basic strategy for the war on hunger. That strategy rests on three essential principles:

1. *Self-help*.—The war on hunger can be won only by the determined efforts of the developing nations themselves. International aid can help them. But it can only help if they pursue well-conceived and well-executed long-range plans of their own.

2. *Multilateral participation.*—The assistance of the international community must be organized in a coalition of the advanced and the developing nations.

3. *Comprehensive planning.*—The international community must develop a comprehensive plan to assist India to fulfill its program of achieving food sufficiency, not only during this year, but for the next few years as well.

Most of you are familiar with the events of the past year. Drought limited India's food grain production to 72 million tons in the 1965-66 crop year, compared with a record 88 million tons the previous year. A massive international emergency program met the immediate crisis. But India had to use precious food reserves—that are thus not available to meet the shortages created by a second successive bad crop.

The weather since then has brought little relief. The general outlook is slightly improved, and overall production may reach 79 million tons this year. But late last summer a severe drought hit heavily populated areas in north-central India. Unless Indian production is supplemented by substantial imports—perhaps 10 million tons by present estimates for calendar 1967—more than 70 million people will experience near famine.

The Government of India has already taken internal measures to move grain from its more fortunate areas to the drought areas. Imports of 2.3 million tons of grain are now in the pipeline to meet India's needs for the first 2 or 3 months of 1967. India has purchased some 200,000 tons of this grain with her own scarce foreign exchange. Canada with 185,000 tons, Australia with 150,000 tons, and the Soviet Union with 200,000 tons have already joined the United States with its 1.6 million tons, in an impressive multilateral effort to help.

India's immediate problem—and the world's problem—is to fill the remaining gap for the balance of this year.

Because these facts bear heavily on the extent of U.S. food shipments, I have requested and received careful verification from our Ambassador in New Delhi, from the Secretary of Agriculture, and from Members of Congress who have recently been in India, including Senator McGee and Senator Moss.

I am particularly grateful to Representative Poage and Representative Dole and Senator Miller, who at my request made a special trip to India in December to assess the situation on the ground. Their careful and thorough analysis of the situation in India and their recommendations to me have been of great value.

During the last 2 weeks, the Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs and the Under Secretary of Agriculture have consulted in New Delhi and with most members of the World Bank's India consortium.

The work of all these men and the diplomatic efforts of the Government of India have laid the foundation for the steps we must now take.

The United States cannot—and should not—approach this problem alone or on an improvised basis. We must support the Indian Government's efforts to enlist the aid of other nations in developing a systematic and international approach to the problems of Indian agriculture. Our long-term objective is to help India achieve its goal of virtual self-sufficiency in grain by the early 1970's. Meanwhile, as part of that effort, we must help India meet its immediate food needs.

VI

In line with policies established by the Congress, and after promising consultations with the Government of India and other governments involved, I recommend the following steps to achieve these objectives:

First: Our basic policy is to approach the problem of Indian food through the India Aid Consortium organized under the chairmanship of the World Bank. That consortium has already developed a multilateral approach to economic assistance for India. Now we propose to make food aid a part of that multilateral assistance program. We seek effective multilateral arrangements to integrate Indian food aid with broader programs of economic assistance and with capital and technical assistance for agricultural development.

In a preliminary way, we have consulted with the Government of India and with other members of the consortium. There is substantial agreement among consortium members on the major points of our proposal:

Meeting food needs of India during this emergency should be accepted as an international responsibility in which each nation should share;

Emergency food and food-related aid should be coordinated through the World Bank consortium;

This aid should not diminish the flow of resources for other development programs. It should be in addition to the targets for each country suggested by the World Bank.

Adding food aid to the responsibilities of the consortium is sound economics and fair burden sharing. The consortium provides a proper channel for the food and food-related aid of donors who have not previously been involved in the food field. It will make clear that food provided from outside is as much a real contribution to Indian development as capital for specific projects or foreign exchange assistance for import programs.

Second: Should this program be established, we will support the Indian consortium as it:

Undertakes a detailed projection of Indian food production and food aid requirements;

Prepares a program for nonfood imports required to meet food production targets, as the basis for determining the equitable share of each donor; and

Reviews India's self-help efforts, reports regularly on progress, and identifies areas for future concentration of energies.

Third: We must take prompt action to help India meet its emergency food needs. Our best present estimate is that India needs deliveries of 10 million tons of food grains this year or roughly \$725 million worth of food; 2.3 million tons, worth roughly \$185 million, are already in the pipeline from a number of countries, including our own. To keep food in the pipeline, I am making an immediate allocation of 2 million tons, worth nearly \$150 million, to tide India over while the Congress acts.

I recommend that Congress approve a commitment to share fully in the international effort to meet India's remaining food grain deficit of 5.7 million tons—worth about \$400 million. To that end, I recommend a U.S. allocation of an additional amount of food grain, not to exceed 3 million tons, provided it is appropriately matched by other countries. I recommend that approximately \$190 million available to

the Commodity Credit Corporation in calendar 1967 be used for this purpose. These funds, if allotted, will have to be replenished by appropriation in fiscal 1968.

Fourth: I recommend your approval of an allocation of \$25 million in food commodities for distribution by CARE and other American voluntary agencies, to assist the Government of India in an emergency feeding program in the drought areas of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh.

Fifth: We hope other donors will accelerate their exports of fertilizers to India.

Unless the application of chemical fertilizers rises sharply in India, she will not be able to meet her food grain targets. Those fertilizer targets are ambitious, yet they must be met and, if possible, exceeded. Marshaling more fertilizer imports is as important to meeting India's emergency as gathering additional grain. India herself must take prompt steps to increase her fertilizer investment and production and improve its distribution.

Sixth: I propose for the longer run to continue encouraging U.S. private investors to participate in India's program to expand production of chemical fertilizers. We will urge other governments to encourage their own producers.

Seventh: We intend to pursue other initiatives in the broader context of world agricultural development:

We shall continue to press for multilateral efforts in every international forum in which we participate, including the current negotiations to establish a food-aid program as part of an international cereals arrangement.

We shall continue our policy of encouraging private capital and technology to join the war on hunger.

We shall press for the creation of an investment guarantee fund by the OECD to encourage private investment in the agricultural industries of developing countries.

We shall make available to food-deficit nations the technology our scientists have now developed for producing fish protein concentrate.

We shall look to the study by the President's Science Advisory Committee on the problems of food production to supply further and more definitive guidelines for near-term action and for long-range planning.

None of these steps can be as important as Indian resolve and Indian performance. The Indian Government is committed to a bold program of agricultural modernization. That program is the foundation for the entire international effort to help India. We believe that a self-reinforcing process of improvement is underway in India, affecting both agricultural techniques and Government administration. On the basis of that conviction, we can move forward to do our share under the food for freedom program of 1966.

VII

I believe these proposals are in our national interest. I believe that they reflect the deepest purposes of our national spirit.

I am asking the Congress, and the American people, to join with me in this effort and in an appeal to all the nations of the world that can help. I am asking the Congress to consider thoroughly my recommendations and to render its judgment. The executive branch, this

Nation, and other nations will give full attention to the contributions that congressional debate may produce.

There are many legitimate claims on our resources. Some may question why we devote a substantial portion to a distant country.

The history of this century is ample reply. We have never stood idly by while famine or pestilence raged among any part of the human family. America would cease to be America if we walked by on the other side when confronted by such catastrophe.

The great lesson of our time is the interdependence of man. My predecessors and I have recognized this fact. All that we and other nations have sought to accomplish in behalf of world peace and economic growth would be for naught if the advanced countries failed to help feed the hungry in their day of need.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *February 2, 1967.*





United States
of America

Congressional Record

PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 90th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Vol. 113

WASHINGTON, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 2, 1967

No. 15

Senate

The Senate met at 12 o'clock meridian, and was called to order by the President pro tempore.

Rev. Dilwyn Morgan Davies, rector of Rugby, England, offered the following prayer:

O Sovereign Lord God, who alone canst order the unruly wills and affections of sinful men and by whose providence the course of this world is peaceably ordered.

Pour down the abundance of Thy grace upon the Senate of this great Republic, that its servants and ministers of state may faithfully fulfill Thy will and obediently discharge the duties of their high calling, to the honor and glory of Thy name, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. MANSFIELD, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of Wednesday, February 1, 1967, was dispensed with.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages in writing from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Jones, one of his secretaries.

THE WAR ON HUNGER—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT (H. DOC. NO. 51)

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Chair lays before the Senate a message from the President on food for India and other countries. Without objection, it will be printed in the RECORD, without being read, and appropriately referred.

The message from the President was referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, as follows:

To the Congress of the United States:

I

Last February I proposed that all mankind join in a war against man's oldest enemy: hunger.

Last March I proposed that the United States take part in an urgent international effort to help the Government of India stave off the threat of famine.

I address you today to report progress in organizing the war against hunger and to seek your counsel on steps still to be taken. For again this year, drought in India—as in other nations—underlines the cruel mathematics of hunger and calls for action.

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India's plight reminds us that our generation can no longer evade the growing imbalance between food production and population growth. India's experience teaches that something more must be done about it.

From our own experience and that of other countries, we know that something can be done. We know that an agricultural revolution is within the capacity of modern science.

We know that land can be made to produce much more food—enough food for the world's population, if reasonable population policies are pursued. Without some type of voluntary population program, however, the nations of the world—no matter how generous—will not be able to keep up with the food problem.

We know, too, that failure to act—and to act now—will multiply the human suffering and political unrest, not only in our generation but in that of our children and their children.

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generous in sending food aid. Each member of the India Aid Consortium made a special effort to meet India's need. Nonmembers, Australia among others, also helped. The private contributions of the Italian and Dutch people were especially heartwarming. But the bleak facts require a sustained international effort on a greater scale. Today I propose that all nations make the new Indian emergency the occasion to start a continuing worldwide campaign against hunger.

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IV

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This is the best measure of progress in the war on hunger and the best assurance of success.

V

India's food problem requires a major commitment of our resources and those of other advanced countries. India's population is equal to that of 66 members of the United Nations.

Broad authority exists under our legislation for national action by Executive decision alone. But the issues presented here are of such moment, and on such a scale, as to make it important that we act together, as we do on other great issues, on the firm foundation of a joint resolution of Congress.

I ask you to support the broad approach we have proposed to the international community as a basic strategy for the war on hunger. That strategy rests on three essential principles:

1. Self-help. The war on hunger can be won only by the determined efforts of the developing nations themselves. International aid can help them. But it can only help if they pursue well-conceived and well-executed long-range plans of their own.

2. Multilateral participation. The assistance of the international community must be organized in a coalition of the advanced and the developing nations.

3. Comprehensive planning. The international community must develop a

comprehensive plan to assist India to fulfill its program of achieving food sufficiency, not only during this year, but for the next few years as well.

Most of you are familiar with the events of the past year. Drought limited India's food grain production to 72 million tons in the 1965-66 crop year, compared with a record 88 million tons the previous year. A massive international emergency program met the immediate crisis. But India had to use precious food reserves—that are thus not available to meet the shortages created by a second successive bad crop.

The weather since then has brought little relief. The general outlook is slightly improved, and overall production may reach 79 million tons this year. But late last summer a severe drought hit heavily populated areas in north-central India. Unless Indian production is supplemented by substantial imports—perhaps 10 million tons by present estimates for calendar 1967—more than 70 million people will experience near famine.

The Government of India has already taken internal measures to move grain from its more fortunate areas to the drought areas. Imports of 2.3 million tons of grain are now in the pipeline to meet India's needs for the first 2 or 3 months of 1967. India has purchased some 200,000 tons of this grain with her own scarce foreign exchange. Canada with 185,000 tons, Australia with 150,000 tons, and the Soviet Union with 200,000 tons have already joined the United States with its 1.6 million tons, in an impressive multilateral effort to help.

India's immediate problem—and the world's problem—is to fill the remaining gap for the balance of this year.

Because these facts bear heavily on the extent of U.S. food shipments, I have requested and received careful verification from our Ambassador in New Delhi, from the Secretary of Agriculture, and from Members of Congress, who have recently been in India, including Senator McGEE and Senator MOSS.

I am particularly grateful to Representative POAGE and Representative DOLE and Senator MILLER, who at my request made a special trip to India in December to assess the situation on the ground. Their careful and thorough analysis of the situation in India and their recommendations to me have been of great value.

During the last 2 weeks, the Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs and the Under Secretary of Agriculture have consulted in New Delhi and with most members of the World Bank's India Consortium.

The work of all these men and the diplomatic efforts of the Government of India have laid the foundation for the steps we must now take.

The United States cannot—and should not—approach this problem alone or on an improvised basis. We must support the Indian Government's efforts to enlist the aid of other nations in developing a systematic and international approach to the problems of Indian agriculture. Our long-term objective is to help India achieve its goal of virtual self-sufficiency in grain by the early 1970's. Meanwhile, as part of that effort, we

must help India meet its immediate food needs.

VI

In line with policies established by the Congress, and after promising consultations with the Government of India and other governments involved, I recommend the following steps to achieve these objectives:

First. Our basic policy is to approach the problem of Indian food through the India Aid Consortium organized under the chairmanship of the World Bank. That Consortium has already developed a multilateral approach to economic assistance for India. Now, we propose to make food aid a part of that multilateral assistance program. We seek effective multilateral arrangements to integrate Indian food aid with broader programs of economic assistance and with capital and technical assistance for agricultural development.

In a preliminary way, we have consulted with the Government of India and with other members of the Consortium. There is substantial agreement among Consortium members on the major points of our proposal:

Meeting food needs of India during this emergency should be accepted as an international responsibility in which each nation should share;

Emergency food and food-related aid should be coordinated through the World Bank Consortium;

This aid should not diminish the flow of resources for other development programs. It should be in addition to the targets for each country suggested by the World Bank.

Adding food aid to the responsibilities of the Consortium is sound economics and fair burden-sharing. The Consortium provides a proper channel for the food and food-related aid of donors who have not previously been involved in the food field. It will make clear that food provided from outside is as much a real contribution to Indian development as capital for specific projects or foreign exchange assistance for import programs.

Second. Should this program be established, we will support the Indian Consortium as it—

Undertakes a detailed projection of Indian food production and food aid requirements;

Prepares a program for nonfood imports required to meet food production targets, as the basis for determining the equitable share of each donor;

Reviews India's self-help efforts, reports regularly on progress and identifies areas for future concentration of energies.

Third. We must take prompt action to help India meet its emergency food needs. Our best present estimate is that India needs deliveries of 10 million tons of food grains this year or roughly \$725 million worth of food; 2.3 million tons, worth roughly \$185 million, are already in the pipeline from a number of countries, including our own. To keep food in the pipeline, I am making an immediate allocation of 2 million tons, worth nearly \$150 million, to tide India over while the Congress acts.

I recommend that Congress approve a commitment to share fully in the international effort to meet India's remain-

ing food grain deficit of 5.7 million tons—worth about \$400 million. To that end, I recommend a U.S. allocation of an additional amount of food grain, not to exceed 3 million tons, provided it is appropriately matched by other countries. I recommend that approximately \$190 million available to the Commodity Credit Corporation in calendar 1967 be used for this purpose. These funds, if allotted, will have to be replenished by appropriation in fiscal 1968.

Fourth. I recommend your approval of an allocation of \$25 million in food commodities for distribution by CARE and other American voluntary agencies, to assist the Government of India in an emergency feeding program in the drought areas of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh.

Fifth. We hope other donors will accelerate their exports of fertilizers to India.

Unless the application of chemical fertilizers rises sharply in India, she will not be able to meet her food grain targets. Those fertilizer targets are ambitious, yet they must be met and if possible, exceeded. Marshaling more fertilizer imports is as important to meeting India's emergency as gathering additional grain. India herself must take prompt steps to increase her fertilizer investment and production and improve its distribution.

Sixth. I propose for the longer run to continue encouraging U.S. private investors to participate in India's program to expand production of chemical fertilizers. We will urge other governments to encourage their own producers.

Seventh. We intend to pursue other initiatives in the broader context of world agricultural development:

We shall continue to press for multilateral efforts in every international forum in which we participate, including the current negotiations to establish a food aid program as part of an International Cereals Arrangement.

We shall continue our policy of encouraging private capital and technology to join the war on hunger.

We shall press for the creation of an investment guarantee fund by the OECD to encourage private investment in the agricultural industries of developing countries.

We shall make available to food deficit nations the technology our scientists have now developed for producing fish protein concentrate.

We shall look to the study by the President's Science Advisory Committee on the problems of food production to supply further and more definitive guidelines for near-term action and for long-range planning.

None of these steps can be as important as Indian resolve and Indian performance. The Indian Government is committed to a bold program of agricultural modernization. That program is the foundation for the entire international effort to help India. We believe that a self-reinforcing process of improvement is underway in India, affecting both agricultural techniques and government administration. On the basis of that conviction, we can move forward to do our share under the food-for-free program of 1966.

VII

I believe these proposals are in our national interest. I believe that they reflect the deepest purposes of our national spirit.

I am asking the Congress, and the American people, to join with me in this effort and in an appeal to all the nations of the world that can help. I am asking the Congress to consider thoroughly my recommendations and to render its judgment. The executive branch, this Nation and other nations will give full attention to the contributions that congressional debate may produce.

There are many legitimate claims on our resources. Some may question why we devote a substantial portion to a distant country.

The history of this century is ample reply. We have never stood idly by while famine or pestilence raged among any part of the human family. America would cease to be America if we walked by on the other side when confronted by such catastrophe.

The great lesson of our time is the interdependence of man. My predecessors and I have recognized this fact. All that we and other nations have sought to accomplish in behalf of world peace and economic growth would be for naught if the advanced countries failed to help feed the hungry in their day of need.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, February 2, 1967.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session,

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations, which were referred to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

COMMITTEE MEETING DURING SENATE SESSION

On request of Mr. MANSFIELD, and by unanimous consent, the Committee on Foreign Relations was authorized to meet during the session of the Senate today.

LIMITATION ON STATEMENTS DURING TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS

On request of Mr. MANSFIELD, and by unanimous consent, statements during the morning hour were ordered limited to 3 minutes.

RECOGNITION OF SENATOR HANSEN AT CONCLUSION OF THE MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that at the conclusion of the morning business, which will comprise 3-minute statements, the distinguished junior Senator from Wyoming [Mr. HANSEN] be recognized for 40 minutes.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate the following communication and letters, which were referred as indicated:

DESIGNATION OF SAN RAFAEL WILDERNESS, LOS PADRES NATIONAL FOREST, CALIF.

A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to designate the San Rafael Wilderness, Los Padres National Forest, in the State of California (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

REPORT ON ADDITIONAL FACILITIES PROJECTS PROPOSED FOR THE AIR NATIONAL GUARD

A letter from the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense (Properties and Installations), reporting, pursuant to law, on certain additional facilities projects proposed to be undertaken for the Air National Guard, at Jacksonville, Fla., and Great Falls, Mont.; to the Committee on Armed Services.

REPORT ON RESERVE OFFICER TRAINING CORPS FLIGHT TRAINING PROGRAM

A letter from the Secretary of the Air Force, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on the Reserve Officer Training Corps Flight Training Program, for the calendar year 1966 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Armed Services.

REPORT ON INSURANCE PREMIUMS COLLECTED UNDER MORTGAGE INSURANCE FOR LAND DEVELOPMENT

A letter from the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, Washington, D.C., reporting, pursuant to law, on the insurance premiums and other charges which that Department collects under mortgage insurance for land development; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

REPORT OF OFFICE OF STATE TECHNICAL SERVICES

A letter from the Secretary of Commerce, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report of the Office of State Technical Services, for the fiscal year 1966 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Commerce.

REPORT OF INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION

A letter from the Chairman, Interstate Commerce Commission, Washington, D.C., transmitting, pursuant to law, a report of that Commission, for the fiscal year 1966 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Commerce.

REPORTS OF DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA NATIONAL GUARD ARMORY AND DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA STADIUM

A letter from the Chairman, District of Columbia Armory Board, Washington, D.C., transmitting, pursuant to law, reports for the District of Columbia National Guard Armory and the District of Columbia Stadium, for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1966 (with accompanying reports); to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

REPORT OF ADMINISTRATOR OF VETERANS' AFFAIRS

A letter from the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, Washington, D.C., transmitting, pursuant to law, his report for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1966 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on Finance.

VIETNAM CONFLICT SERVICEMEN AND VETERANS ACT OF 1967

A letter from the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, Veterans' Administration, Washington, D.C., transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to extend to persons who served in the Armed Forces of the United States on or after August 5, 1964, the date of the Gulf of Tonkin incident, the same range of veterans' benefits heretofore provided veterans of other wars; to improve the pension and certain other benefits now available to these

servicemen and veterans; and for other purposes (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Finance.

PROPOSED DISCONTINUANCE OF REQUIREMENT THAT THE COMPTROLLER GENERAL MAKE AN ANNUAL AUDIT OF THE GENERAL SUPPLY FUND

A letter from the Comptroller General of the United States, proposing the discontinuance of the specific statutory requirement that the Comptroller General shall make an annual audit of the general supply fund (with an accompanying paper); to the Committee on Government Operations.

LAWS ENACTED BY LEGISLATURE OF GUAM

A letter from the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, transmitting, pursuant to law, copies of laws enacted by the Eighth Guam Legislature, 1966 (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

REPORT OF COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE

A letter from the Acting Attorney General, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report of the Community Relations Service, Department of Justice, for the fiscal year 1966 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

REPORT ON MILITARY PERSONNEL AND CIVILIAN EMPLOYEES' CLAIMS

A letter from the Assistant Attorney General for Administration, Department of Justice, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report on claims paid under the Military Personnel and Civilian Employees' Claims Act of 1964, for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1966 (with an accompanying report); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

REPORTS RELATING TO THIRD PREFERENCE AND SIXTH PREFERENCE FOR CERTAIN ALIENS

A letter from the Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Justice, transmitting, pursuant to law, reports relating to third preference and sixth preference for certain aliens (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

TEMPORARY ADMISSION INTO THE UNITED STATES OF CERTAIN ALIENS

A letter from the Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Justice, transmitting, pursuant to law, copies of orders entered granting temporary admission into the United States of certain aliens (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

SUSPENSION OF DEPORTATION OF CERTAIN ALIENS

Two letters from the Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Department of Justice, transmitting, pursuant to law, copies of orders suspending deportation of certain aliens, together with a statement of the facts and pertinent provisions of law pertaining to each alien, and the reasons for ordering such suspension (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on the Judiciary.

REQUEST FOR EXTENSION OF TIME TO FILE REPORT

A letter from the Secretary of Labor, requesting permission to delay the filing of a report covering the administration of the Fair Labor Standards Act; to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

REPORTS ON POSITIONS IN GRADES GS-16, GS-17, AND GS-18

A letter from the Chairman, U.S. Civil Service Commission, Washington, D.C., reporting, pursuant to law, on positions in grades GS-16, GS-17, and GS-18, for the calendar year 1966 (with accompanying papers); to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

A letter from the Assistant Attorney General for Administration, Department of Justice, transmitting, pursuant to law, a report

SON of Georgia as members of the James Madison Memorial Commission, on the part of the House.

The message also informed the Senate that, pursuant to the provisions of section 401(a), Public Law 414, 82d Congress, the Speaker had appointed Mr. CELLER, of New York, Mr. FEIGHAN, of Ohio, Mr. RODINO, of New Jersey, Mr. MOORE, of West Virginia, and Mr. McCULLOCH, of Ohio as members of the Joint Committee on Immigration and Nationality Policy, on the part of the House.

ADDRESSES, EDITORIALS, ARTICLES, ETC., PRINTED IN THE APPENDIX

On request, and by unanimous consent, addresses, editorials, articles, etc., were ordered to be printed in the Appendix, as follows:

By Mr. RANDOLPH:

An editorial which appeared in the January 28, 1967, issue of the *Elkins Inter-Mountain*.

By Mr. SCOTT:

Editorial entitled "Dangerously Neglected Merchant Marine," published in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* of January 31, 1967.

FEDERAL PAYMENTS TO FARMERS

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, on Tuesday, the Senator from Florida inserted a story from the Associated Press showing a rise in total Federal payments to farmers in 1966 compared with 1965. I share the Senator's interest in all Government expenditures, and the Senate should always give close attention and study to such matters.

After reviewing the record of farm program payments and other expenditures under the new 1966 programs, I think we need to consider what these figures really mean. Concerning payments to farmers, the figures are apt not to be comparable between 1965 and 1966.

An outstanding example of this is the cotton program.

The fact is that most of the increase in total payments to U.S. farmers in 1966 was actually an increase in payments to cotton farmers alone. So what is really at issue here is the cotton program—which the AP story might lead one to believe has become grossly more expensive.

Nothing could be further from the truth.

The new cotton program—as authorized in the Food and Agriculture Act of 1965—was designed to eliminate export subsidy payments and the resulting cotton equalization payments to mills. It was also designed to make cotton more competitive at home and abroad, with a loan price near the world level, and to make up for this to growers by giving them a direct payment. This payment recognizes the fact that our farmers cannot produce cotton at the world price, and that U.S. cotton farmers, like all other citizens, are entitled to a decent standard of living by American standards.

So it is unreal and unfair to add up these payments to farmers, instead of to mills and exporters, and represent them as an increased cost to the taxpayers.

The fact is that the cotton program

in 1966 was successful in reducing total net Government expenditures for cotton.

Total net expenditures for the 1966 cotton program—about \$470 million—will be less than one-half of the expenditures under the 1965 cotton program—about \$1.2 million. Moreover, they will be only about one-half the average annual expenditures for the 5 preceding years—which was over \$900 million.

So, while direct payments to farmers have increased—and these payments do go directly into farmers' pockets and not to mills—there has been a decline in other Government costs. The decline has brought a large net advantage to the taxpayer, and the cotton farmer has received \$200 million more than he would have received under the old program.

The new program has eliminated the need for export subsidy payments and cotton equalization payments. The new program has brought a reduction in cotton loans made by the Commodity Credit Corporation, as well as the amount of loan cotton that comes into Government hands. Under the 1966 crop, CCC will acquire less than 2 million bales—a decrease of 60 percent from the average of the preceding 3 years—which will cut storage and handling costs which are borne by the taxpayer.

One of the main objectives of the new cotton program was to expand the use of cotton and meet competition—both foreign cotton and synthetics—so that the U.S. cotton farmer could continue to produce. A major effect of the new program has been to increase exports—to about 5 million bales in this marketing year compared with only 2.9 million in the preceding year.

Also, domestic consumption has risen to over 9.5 million bales, as compared with less than 9.4 million bales in 1965—and only 8.4 million bales in 1963, before we acted to eliminate the inequitable "two price" system. And the rate of expansion in synthetic production has been reduced.

So that the goals of the new cotton program in 1966 are being met—including the reduction of expenses. The program has reduced CCC loans on cotton, reduced the carryover of cotton, and cut the quantity of cotton in CCC's inventory. It has increased domestic consumption and exports, and it has maintained cotton producers' net income.

U.S. FOOD AID TO INDIA

Mr. MCGEE. Mr. President, this morning the Senate received from the President a message in connection with food for India and other areas of the world. I lend my wholehearted support to the consortium approach that the President has emphasized in his message.

A short time ago, in December, I was in India, as a member of the President's special committee to study the India food problem, as was the other Senate Member, Senator JACK MILLER, of Iowa, to take a hard look at the food crisis that was plaguing that country at the time and still does. India's need for food aid at this time is very great. I dread to think what that need will be in the

years that lie ahead. The time certainly has come for us to enlist increased assistance from our friends in other industrialized countries if one of history's greatest catastrophes is to be avoided. I believe that the dimensions of our present approach merit the very careful consideration of the Senate.

To point up the problem that faces the world in India, I shall focus briefly on what the United States already has done to help that country stave off hunger and starvation.

For over a decade, India has been the largest recipient of U.S. food aid. Between August 1, 1956, and December 31, 1966, we have shipped India \$3.2 billion worth of agricultural commodities—mostly food products. That figure excludes almost \$500 million in transportation costs.

Most of these products were sold—under authority of Public Law 480—for Indian rupees rather than dollars. This arrangement was doubly beneficial to India. It permitted that country to receive substantial food aid despite a shortage of foreign currency. India also received from the United States, as loans or grants for economic development, over 80 percent of the rupees it spent for our farm commodities.

In calendar year 1966 we carried on a "crash" food aid program to offset effects of India's 1965 drought.

Mr. President, we shipped more than 8 million metric tons of grain—the largest operation of its kind in all history. These shipments, mainly of wheat, represented about one-fourth of an average U.S. wheat crop. They were equivalent to 165,000 boxcar loads, enough to make a train stretching from Kansas City to San Francisco. They supplied the daily ration of 60 million people. They averted what might have been one of the greatest famines of all time.

I mentioned what has been done in order to emphasize that despite this enormous amount of American aid India is still plagued with the question of her crisis in food. Ten years from now, unless we plan together in this matter, India's food problem could well be even more critical than it is at the present time.

There are other needy countries in terms of food elsewhere around the world. In December, the United States, the day after it made 900,000 tons of grain available to India, allocated 500,000 tons of grain to Pakistan. U.S. food aid is going to South Vietnam, South Korea, Taiwan, Turkey, Israel, the United Arab Republic, the Congo, Brazil and other needy areas. The disappearance of U.S. surpluses makes allocation of supplies all the more difficult and may urgently require suggesting a new look at the targets we accept for the tremendous agricultural productive capability of our country.

Mr. President, we cannot continue all of this allocation alone. Perhaps it would be impossible to carry such a large share of the burden alone, and in any case it would erode other necessary activity at the same time. Our foreign friends have been furnishing aid to India, it is true. For that we are glad, and we

all applaud. But it has been unprogrammed aid in the main and sometimes it has been spasmodic and given only in response to crises. The effort must be made to plan ahead and expand this program in the realm of food on the part of all nations of the world.

India's problem is, in essence, an international question of tremendous dimensions which are sometimes frightening. A consortium, as proposed by the President, is a mechanism through which our friends throughout the world can make an effective attack.

There will be an announcement sometime today, I believe, by the chairman of the President's advisory group to the Congress on the India food crisis, Representative W. R. POAGE, of Texas.

The other member, in addition to Chairman POAGE, Senator MILLER and myself, is Representative ROBERT DOLE, of Kansas.

Representative POAGE may have something to say about the resolution being prepared by our committee for the consideration of the two Houses of Congress.

CORRECTION OF THE RECORD

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, yesterday I spoke in the Senate on the subject, "America Is Determined To Defend the Freedom of the Seas." As a part of my remarks I received consent to have printed in the RECORD a letter that I had written under date of January 20, 1967, to the Honorable Dean Rusk, Secretary of State.

I regret that the letter as printed on page S1251 of yesterday's RECORD, is somewhat garbled. I ask unanimous consent that the letter be reprinted in today's RECORD.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JANUARY 20, 1967.

HON. DEAN RUSK,
Secretary, Department of State,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: The recent seizure of three American tunaboats off the coast of Ecuador in international waters points up once again the critical need for a solution in the continuing problem of harassment of American flag vessels engaged in peaceful fishing activities off the coast of Latin America. Last year there were 11 seizures of American vessels by Latin American nations in international waters. The recent incidents involving Ecuador indicate that there will be no let up in this trend.

To all reasonable men the peaceful regulation of the fisheries of Latin America would seem to be a matter for solution by negotiation among men of good will. I believe the United States must encourage any steps which may be taken in that direction. But the behavior of Latin American nations concerned with this problem reveals a great political sensitivity to what ought to be treated as a technical, commercial and legal problem.

My amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act of 1965 gave the President discretionary power to withhold aid from nations interfering with the peaceful activities of American fishing vessels on the high seas. This provision gave him a powerful deterrent to use against Latin American nations who continue to harass American vessels. I believe it must be made indelibly clear to the nations of Latin America that the United States cannot tolerate high-handed interference with the legal, peaceful and, moreover, traditional fishing activities of its citizens.

I therefore call upon you to inform Pacific Coast nations of Latin America that my amendment will be invoked in the next fiscal year if harassments continue. The government should commit itself to this course of action as a means of once and for all bringing to an end this nagging problem which has not only gravely affected the \$300 million American tuna fishing industry, but has prejudiced, as you are well aware, other vital aspects of our policy in Latin America.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

THOMAS H. KUCHEL,
U.S. Senator.

ABC-ITT MERGER

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. President, on January 24, in this Chamber, I said that the Acting Attorney General of the United States should respect the independence of one of the independent regulatory agencies of our Government, the Federal Communications Commission.

Yesterday the Commission agreed to stay its final approval of the ABC-ITT merger pending receipt of evidence from the Department of Justice on the alleged anticompetitive effects of the merger. By its decision yesterday, the Commission, in effect, reaffirmed its independence. I am glad to see such reaffirmation, and I think we should at all times be altered to protect the independence of our regulatory agencies.

I know nothing of the merits of the controversy. If an antitrust situation exists, the Department of Justice has access to the courts and may proceed accordingly. I do not believe it should proceed through the back door by meddling with the independent agencies of the Government.

BAIL REFORM AND "PREVENTIVE DETENTION"

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, last Sunday, January 22, the Washington Post carried yet another article criticizing the Bail Reform Act as it operates in the District of Columbia. On January 24, the distinguished senior Senator from Maryland placed that article in the RECORD. I think that account is so notable that I ask unanimous consent that it be printed again following these remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. ERVIN. Mr. President, the article concerns the release of a defendant charged with rape and robbery by Judge DeWitt Hyde of the court of general sessions. The U.S. attorney's office is reported to have recommended \$5,000 bond on the robbery charge and denial of any bail for the rape. Judge Hyde, the article states, said that the Bail Reform Act "forced" him to release the man on his promise to return.

Under this Act—

He was quoted—

we could have a raving maniac who might go out and kill people in the streets, and we would have to turn him loose. I don't know what in the world people were thinking about when they passed this Act.

I read this article and other recent newspaper accounts criticizing the Bail Reform Act with a growing sense of dis-

belief. If the judges of the District of Columbia and other critics would read the act, they would know that courts are not required to release either "raving maniacs" or alleged rapists. The law on this point, established in 1879, is unchanged.

Section 3148 of title 18 of the United States Code permits the judge to refuse bail when he has reason to believe a defendant charged with a capital crime is a danger to any other person or to the community. According to section 22-2801 of the District of Columbia Code, rape is a capital offense. Judge Hyde could have set bail at \$5,000, \$10,000 or denied it completely. According to the Post report, it would appear that the reporter and the prosecutor knew this—but the judge did not. Not only was Judge Hyde not required by the act to release this defendant—if the story is accurate, he may have abused his authority by doing so.

It is also not true that the act "forces" Judge Hyde to release "raving maniacs." Title 24 of the District of Columbia Code still permits the courts to order "raving maniacs" to St. Elizabeths for observation.

Nor are judges "forced" under the new law to release on a promise to return—what is called "personal recognizance"—defendants charged with noncapital offenses. They may in proper cases require a traditional money bond, or even order the defendant to return to custody every evening.

Judge Hyde was quoted as saying:

We have to hold people charged with hitting somebody over the head with a sponge, and release others on these charges.

I am not familiar with the crime rate for sponge assault in the District. However, I do know what the crime rate for rape is, and I know that the bail law does not require judges to incarcerate sponge assailants pending trial, nor to release rapists.

The Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights spent over 5 years working out bail reform legislation, and Congress was "thinking about" the same thing in 1966 when it passed the act as it was in 1961—we were thinking about the thousands of citizens who are detained for protracted periods each year, not because they have been convicted, but merely because they are indigent. We were not thinking about "preventive detention," a practice which has been illegal since the dawn of American jurisprudence, and the report specifically stated that preventive detention was not affected by the bill.

The subcommittee had the assistance of the Justice Department, private groups, and judges when it drafted this legislation. The record of Congress deliberations runs some 1,000 pages in two rounds of Senate hearings and one in the House. The act is one of the most carefully developed pieces of legislation to come out of this Congress in recent years. I would commend reading these hearings to the critics of the act, although as a starting point I would much prefer they read the act itself.

The judge's reaction to reform is surprising indeed. No local judge testified against either the Bail Reform Act or the District of Columbia Bail Agency.

their local and federal counterparts. He should have a competent staff to assist him and have a status which would be above all other state agency officials operating in the field. Through the staff, the center would provide information on state programs and policies and advise on the state's interests.

12) A similar organization would be desirable for federal multi-service centers.

The specific nature of legislation and the course of action in each state will depend on local factors. In most instances an evolutionary approach will probably be needed moving from some kind of informal association or voluntary organization to a legally established regional decision-making body with powers to act on regional problems. In other cases it may be possible to establish a statewide system of regional decision-making at the outset.

An example of the latter kind of action is from Alaska where provisions for a statewide system of boroughs were included in the State Constitution made effective when Statehood was granted in 1958. Article X of the Constitution provided that:

"All local government powers shall be vested in boroughs and cities . . . the entire State shall be divided into boroughs . . . The standards shall include population, geography, economy, transportation, and other factors. Each borough shall embrace an area and population with common interests to the maximum degree possible . . . Each city of the first class, and each city of any other class designated by law, shall be represented on the (borough) assembly by one or more of its council. The other members of the assembly shall be elected from and by the qualified voters resident outside such cities . . .

"The (state) legislature shall provide for the performance of services it seems necessary or advisable in unorganized boroughs, allowing for maximum local participation and responsibility . . . Cities . . . shall be a part of the borough in which they are located . . . A home rule borough or city may exercise all legislative powers not prohibited by law or by charter . . . Agreements including those for cooperative or joint administration of any functions or powers, government, with the State, or with the United States, unless otherwise provided by law or charter. A city may transfer to the borough in which it is located any of its powers or functions unless prohibited by law or charter, and may in like manner revoke the transfer. . . ."

The boroughs have been established and are now beginning to function as metropolitan and regional governments. The Alaskan boroughs which have now been operational for two years have quickly grasped the desirability of relating resource and urban development. Planning and decision making in most boroughs now embrace both resource management and urban development.

In California the Association of Bay Area Governments provides an example of evolution towards statutory regional government. ABAG was originally organized in 1961 under joint exercise of powers legislation as a voluntary association of counties and cities with the following functions specified in the By-Laws:

1. *Review of Governmental Proposals.* The review of proposals for metropolitan area or regional governmental units or agencies, and the making of appropriate policy or action recommendations.

2. *Study of Metropolitan Area Problems.* The identification and study of problems, functions and services in the San Francisco Bay Metropolitan Area, and the making of appropriate policy or action recommendations.

3. *Other Functions.* Such other metropolitan or regional functions as the General Assembly shall deem appropriate for the Association.

During its first two years of existence the Association engaged in various activities re-

lying mainly on voluntary part-time assistance. With the advice of a technical advisory group, ABAG decided to initiate a continuing program of regional planning with permanent staff supported by Federal "701" funds. This program has produced a preliminary regional plan with special consideration given to parks and open space, refuse disposal, shoreline development and transportation.

Recognizing the problems of mounting effective action through a voluntary association, the ABAG General Assembly is now asking for state legislation to establish "Regional Home Rule" through a permanent regional decision-making body for the nine counties with powers to act in four specific areas:

1. Regional planning
2. Solid waste disposal
3. Regional parks and open space
4. Regional airports

These are functions not presently covered by the several single purpose regional districts in the San Francisco Bay Area.

Effective legislation creating the machinery for responsible political decision-making, planning and action, at the regional scale will provide a first vital step towards the actions that must come. Here, within this format, the issues can be debated, dialogue can take place, common problems can be recognized and solutions can be hammered out. Planning at the regional scale can be an important tool of elected public officials. Through planning, the issues can be analyzed, alternatives examined and decisions made.

OUR HUMANITARIAN TRADITION

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, over 1,900 years ago the Roman philosopher, Seneca, said:

A hungry people listens not to reason nor cares for justice nor is bent by prayers.

Human nature has changed little in 1,900 years. In areas where hunger and starvation are a grim possibility, order and progress are difficult to maintain.

With this thought in mind I welcome the recommendations of President Johnson to provide food aid to India through an international consortium. Such an approach has many advantages. But the principal advantage, in my opinion, is the promise of larger and more effective aid than would otherwise be possible.

Feeding the hungry people of other countries is a long tradition with the United States. Since the beginning of this century, our farmers have brought forth such bounty that we have been able, far more than any people in world history, to share our food abundance with those in need.

In the World War I period, almost 50 years ago, U.S. food saved millions of men, women, and children from starvation. Again, during and after World War II, supplies from the United States combated hunger in war-torn areas and hastened reconstruction. The current food-for-peace program—and the consortium proposed to help India—falls into the same pattern. As President Kennedy once expressed it:

We share our abundance with the needy because it is right.

I want to call particular attention to President Johnson's announcement that \$25 million of title II funds will be made available to CARE and other voluntary agencies for use in the Bihar and Uttar Pradesh states of India. I am most hopeful that this recommendation will

help us reach such areas of need which would be difficult to reach through regular programs.

For we owe the voluntary agencies a great debt of gratitude for their service. Through these dedicated organizations—private welfare, church affiliated, and international—the United States has distributed commodities having a cost value approaching almost \$3 billion—of which India has received \$245 million. This distribution has checked hunger and starvation, and shows the worth of the people-to-people approach.

There is no one best way to help a nation that needs assistance. I am sure we will keep on doing what we have been doing—but let us hope that our efforts will be reinforced by the efforts of many others. The consortium program outlined by President Johnson in his special Indian food aid message is a sound step toward building a grand alliance of nations to do battle with our greatest enemy—hunger.

I offered an amendment to the landmark food-for-peace legislation last year expressing the sense of the Congress that we should expand such international food efforts. I was most gratified that the committee approved this amendment, and that it became a part of the new law. The President's consortium proposal is fully within the spirit of this congressional declaration, and will receive, I hope, our widespread support.

Also most encouraging is President Johnson's continued emphasis on the priority of self-help in hungry nations, together with his positive report on the progress India has already achieved. I have stressed for almost 2 years that the key to narrowing the gap between population growth and food production is an intensive effort to help food-deficit nations develop agricultural self-sufficiency. To that end I offered amendments to the food-for-peace legislation and the foreign aid bill last year to provide greater U.S. emphasis on encouraging adaptive agricultural research in food-short countries. Both were adopted by the Congress. I proposed an amendment allowing use of excess soft currencies for agricultural development, which was also adopted. I am therefore happy the President continues to emphasize this most important area of self-help, recognizing that U.S. food aid—whether alone or jointly—can be no more than a temporary expedient tiding nations over the dangers of outright starvation and famine.

THE CONSULAR CONVENTION

Mr. McGEE. Mr. President, Mr. Walter Lippmann and Mr. Art Buchwald are two columnists of distinction whose methods of impressing their thoughts on American readers are generally quite different. In this morning's Washington Post, however, Mr. Buchwald is quite serious and he is writing on the same subject as Mr. Lippmann—the proposed consular convention before this body.

The Lippmann column draws its message from testimony before the Committee on Foreign Relations this week of two eminently qualified men, George Kennan and Edwin Reischauer and states that the Consular Convention has been blown

up into a test of whether or not the United States can proceed to work out better relations with the Soviet Union.

Mr. Buchwald gives us a somewhat humorous, yet serious, look at the reasons being bandied about for not approving the treaty; namely, that it would create a problem for the Federal Bureau of Investigation by infesting major cities with new spy networks officially established through consulates. With his usual wit, Mr. Buchwald has deflated the argument, just as Mr. Lippmann has given us serious food for thought on the course of action this Nation should follow not only with respect to Soviet Russia, but with Asian nations as well.

I ask unanimous consent that both these columns be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

—
TODAY AND TOMORROW: TWO LEADING
AUTHORITIES

(By Walter Lippmann)

In its substance the Consular Convention with the Soviet Union, which is now up for ratification by the Senate, is of relatively minor practical significance. All it would do is make trade and tourist travel between the two countries safer and more convenient. It has no real relation to the question of espionage. But because of the opposition to it, including that of the Director of the FBI, the ratification of this Convention has been blown up into a test of whether or not the United States can proceed to work out better relations with the Soviet Union.

The contest over ratification turns on a question of great importance to the whole conduct of U.S. foreign policy. It is whether international communism is still essentially the same conspiracy which it was understood to be 20 years ago after World War II. The hard opponents of the Consular Convention believe that the Soviet Union today is no different than it was in the time of Lenin or Stalin. The hard proponents of the escalated war in Vietnam believe that the real adversary is the international communism of the post war era.

This week the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has heard testimony on these questions from two distinguished diplomats and scholars. The first was George Kennan who is generally regarded as the leading American authority on Soviet communism. The second witness was Edwin Reischauer, until recently our Ambassador to Japan, who has known the Far East all his life.

Kennan told the Senate Committee that the 24-year-old pictures of communism was no longer a true picture. Reischauer told the Committee that the current official conception of our relations with Asia is mistaken, both as to the power and the threat of China and as to the power and influence of the United States.

If Kennan and Reischauer are right, then a successful foreign policy cannot be formed in this country until there has been a re-education of our people, starting with our officials.

"Many of us would be helped in our thinking about the problems of Soviet-American relations," said Kennan, "if we could free ourselves from the abnormal sensitivities and reflexes to which the extreme tensions of earlier decades have led and teach ourselves to think about Russia as simply another great world power with its own interests and concerns, often necessarily in conflict with our own but not tragically so—a power different in many respects, but perhaps no longer in essential ones, from what Russia would have been had there been no Communist revolution in that country 50 years ago.

Reischauer's testimony was deeply at vari-

ance with the current official conception of our role in Asia. He told the Committee that "we should seek to minimize our military involvement and military commitments in Asia." In saying this he was adhering to the classic American doctrine of no land war on the Asian continent, which was breached by President Kennedy and completely abandoned by President Johnson and Secretary Rusk.

As against Secretary Dulles and Secretary Rusk Reischauer said "we should not try to induce most Asian countries to align themselves formally with us."

He said "we should not sponsor political, social, or economic change in Asian countries, though we should be responsive to requests from them for aid . . . We run serious and unwarranted dangers when we take the initiative in sponsoring important internal changes in Asian lands or when our influence becomes so preponderant that we assume responsibility for the existence or nature of a regime."

These are weighty utterances which cannot easily be dismissed. They should not be ignored and every effort must be made to acquaint our people with them. For it would be impossible to name any two living Americans who can speak with greater or even with comparable authority about the problems confronting us with the Soviet Union and with the countries of Asia.

—
WHERE HAVE ALL THE SPIES GONE?

(By Art Buchwald)

As one of J. Edgar Hoover's most ardent admirers, I was very surprised to read of the FBI Director's stand on a proposed United States-Soviet consular treaty. It seems the Administration wants the treaty because it would mean that we could have consulates in several cities throughout the Soviet Union. In exchange the Soviet Union could set up consulates in U.S. cities on a quid pro quo basis.

The treaty has had tough going in the Senate because Hoover is said to be against it on the grounds that it would only give the Russians a chance to set up more spy cells in the United States, and that it would give the FBI more work to do. Hoover raised the question of whether the G-men could control the new threat of espionage.

This attitude about spies and espionage came as a surprise to those of us who have been raised on movies and magazine articles about Hoover and the FBI. The one thing we could always be certain of, until Hoover started writing letters to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, was that the FBI could catch any spy a foreign power tried to plant in the United States. The impression that has always been given is that the more spies the Communists sent to this country, the better the FBI liked it. And every time the FBI rounded up a Soviet spy ring the Nation cheered and the President gave Hoover another medal.

If the truth be known, Hoover's Department thrived on Soviet spies. It was the stuff FBI legends were made of, and there wasn't a man, woman or child in this Nation who didn't sleep better at night, knowing that as hard as the Commies would try to penetrate our secrets, Hoover and his gallant agents would stop them.

But now for the first time Hoover has indicated that he would be hard put to keep track of Soviet spies if we permitted the Russians to open consulates in our major cities. He has said in effect that the FBI could no longer guarantee us protection against those who would be sent to this country to steal our blueprints and to microfilm our defenses. Hoover unknowingly sent shudders of fear down our backs, because if he can't protect us against the dastardly Soviet spy system, then who can?

Obviously it isn't a question of manpower, because all Hoover had to do is go before the Senate and explain the new spy threat

to them. In exchange he would get all the men he needs.

Money is also no problem, because the greater the espionage, the more funds Congress will give him to fight it.

So the only thing one can guess is that Hoover is getting tired of catching spies. A man who has caught as many as he has probably wants to take it easy, and there is nobody in this country who would begrudge him this.

It would be unfair for the Government to burden the FBI with new problems, just because the Administration wants to work out a detente with the Soviet Union.

If the Senate turns down the consular treaty for no other reason than to give Hoover a much needed rest, I would be the last to criticize them.

The only thing that worries me is that without fresh spies, where will the FBI get new plots for its television series?

—
AN ECONOMIST TALKS SENSE ON
HOW TO REVITALIZE THE GOLD
MINING INDUSTRY

Mr. GRUENING. Mr. President, as chairman of the Subcommittee on Minerals, Materials, and Fuels of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, it was, today, my privilege to conduct a hearing on my bill, S. 49, the Gold Mine Revitalization Act, and S. 615, introduced by the distinguished junior Senator from South Dakota [Mr. McGOVERN]. The purpose of both bills is, in different ways, to increase the production of gold in the United States and restore the gold mining industry to prosperity. The objective of both bills is one which must be achieved.

In the course of the hearing I conducted today, the subcommittee was honored by the testimony of Rev. Edward A. Keller, C.S.C., who testified as a consultant to the gold committee of the American Mining Congress. Father Keller is an associate professor of economics at the University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Ind., and is well qualified to testify not only as to the economics of gold mining but to meet the arguments raised by the Treasury Department against legislation to aid gold miners on grounds that it would disrupt the international monetary system. I have never agreed with the position of the Treasury Department on this matter and neither have my colleagues in the Senate. Thus, it was enormously refreshing to hear the testimony of an economist with the knowledge of Reverend Keller who gave it as a scholarly opinion that legislation to provide incentive payments to gold miners would not be interpreted abroad as a devaluation of the dollar nor would such an action change in any way international monetary relationships.

Since Father Keller presented such an excellent statement on this subject, I ask unanimous consent that the text of his statement be included in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GOLD MINES ASSISTANCE ACT OF 1967

(Statement of Rev. Edward A. Keller, C.S.C., before the Subcommittee on Minerals, Materials and Fuels of the Senate Interior and Insular Affairs Committee, in re. S. 615, Feb. 2, 1967)

Mr. Chairman, my name is Reverend Edward A. Keller, C.S.C.; I am an Associate Pro-

auto, steel and rubber were the deciding factors, and then because of the threat of organization and the CIO, the AF of L was able to organize many plants which otherwise they would have been unable to organize. With the passage of time, the conflict between the two organizations diminished. And a union finally came about.

Q. How do you see the future development of the trade union movement? What should the trade union movement do in order to be more effective?

Douglas: It's got one problem, of course, of organizing the South. The South is the great barrier to organization in mass production industries: textiles, chemicals and the rest. That's the hardest place because there the anti-union forces are strong and of the eleven states of the old confederacy, ten have "right-to-work" laws—which are really anti-union laws. They, plus the mountain states, make the backbone of the right-to-work laws. I'd say the first task is organizing the South. But allied with it is the problem of organizing the so-called white collar workers. Early in the 1930 census, I saw very clearly that the number of white collar workers was increasing much more rapidly than the number of manual or blue collar workers. As I remember—and these figures are approximate—in 1910, one worker out of thirteen was clerical *inside manufacturing*, but by 1930, one worker out of every seven. In other words, the relative number of clerical workers inside manufacturing had doubled. In addition to this, and perhaps more important, was the development of new occupations—professionals, trade, communications, public employment, teachers and nurses, para-medical people and the rest—all these large numbers of people who did not work physically with their hands. These people, in the main, were much closer to the employers and the supervisors than the manual workers were out there in the factory, and their promotions depended much more upon the decision of the management. Promotion to the ranks of management came largely from them rather than from the workers in the plant. So their economic and emotional affiliations were much more with management than were the production workers on the line. With their numbers increased—absolutely and relatively—their organization is going to be vital both economically and politically. I am very glad that the retail clerks and the state, county and federal government workers have made such headway, that the American Federation of Teachers have. Incidentally, I'm very proud of having been a member of the AF of T since, I believe, 1921—over 45 years. (Part II next week.)

Very truly yours,

JOHN HERLING, *Editor*

[From John Herling's Labor Letter, Dec. 31, 1966]

THIS WEEK WE CONTINUE THE DOUGLAS INTERVIEW

(NOTE.—Last week we reported to you the first part of the "Farewell" interview with Senator Paul Douglas ("farewell" only in the senatorial sense). Here is Part II.)

Douglas: In the case of the organization of the federal employees, we had a great setback when the communists virtually took over the union of federal employees in the late 1930's and brought disgrace really on the movement then. I am referring to the United Federal Workers (now extinct).

Those are two things: the organization of the South and the organization of the white collar workers. (See last week's Letter.)

But I would also say it is highly important to get to the workers in the suburbs—an increasing number are living in the suburbs. Some work in the suburbs—a few of them—like around Boston—but many live in the suburbs. A cleavage is developing between the suburbs and the cities partly based on race antipathy—identification of the city

with the Negroes—but also, emotional superiority which is generally associated with ownership of a piece of land, however small.

Q. My wife says that ownership of real estate always tends to bring out the worst in people.

Douglas: I don't know. There are deep instincts within man for private property. You shouldn't expect to eliminate them. There's nothing wrong with it, quite the contrary. It personifies and makes real your attachment and you're much more likely to keep the grass cut than if you are merely an apartment dweller in a public housing project. You'll put more flowers in, and you'll get more potatoes from a series of small patches than from a communal garden. Those things are very real. This is the great advantage of private property—or one of the great advantages of private property—but this should not be associated in the suburb with a dislike of the cities. This is a very real political problem which we Democrats must face; which the union movement, I think, must face. When it is associated also with a desire to keep the Negroes out of the suburbs it is leading all over the country to an erection of a series of *white walls*, confining Negroes to the central part of the inner cities, maintaining white areas around them and into which Negroes are discouraged or prevented from entering.

Q. The other day you mentioned that you told some trade union leaders and friends that certain things need to be done by the trade union movement in order to improve their own situation.

Douglas: Yes, I said that the legislative programs advocated by the trade union movement are in the main correct. They are, in effect the programs of the liberal wing of the Democratic Party. But a very considerable percentage of the membership is not in sympathy with them, particularly when you come to race matters. And while the labor press has been doing good work, it's hard to complete with the social opinion of the neighbors and with the metropolitan press. I suggested a series of home visits by convinced members of the women's auxiliaries and also by those on retirement pay so that people may be visited by fellow unionists, in roughly the same locality. You can build a personal fellowship on this basis.

Q. It requires a terrific amount of education of those very people—of the "visitors."

Douglas: O yes, indeed. Now there's another factor. There are still some sacrifices being made in various sections of the country by advocates of unionism. This is noteworthy in certain sections of the South and the white collar occupations. But in the main, for the thirteen to fifteen million people in unions, the battle of organization has been won for those already in. And as a result of union activity we have the 40 hour week, and the high hourly rate in comparison with the past. I can remember when workers in factories used to work 65 or 70 hour week and the pay would be less than 20¢ an hour.

Now, the modern generation has inherited all these things. It does not realize the struggle which went on to get them. (By the way, when I talked about visiting in the homes—I mean, gently, not in any threatening or menacing way by people who believe in the program.) I think that the rank and file should realize that what they have is partly the result of blood, sweat and tears, but also of actual death, of the human sacrifice of martyrs who had gone before. The Catholic Church has always properly emphasized the role of martyrs and saints. I would like to see the union movement, for example, in western Pennsylvania, have annual ceremonies honoring those who were killed in the Homestead strike, of the early '90's, who were shot down by the Pinkerton men, individually honored by name, and have flowers laid upon a memorial tablet for them.

Q. They don't have that now?

Douglas: Not that I know of. If they do, fine; if they don't they should. In Detroit, honor the people who were beaten up at the Ford Works at the Overpass in 1937. Out in my section, the people who were shot down in the Republic Steel strike. This could be done without stirring up bitter animus. But it could be a reminder—a reminder—of the tremendous sacrifices which people made to get unionization and to improve the condition of their lot. And similarly we have great civic heroes and heroines—Jane Addams and Florence Kelly, and John Peter Altgeld who helped get the first eight hour law for women through. I think we can develop the memory of these civic heroes and heroines.

Q. Do you feel that some elements in the labor movement want in effect to forget all about that?

Douglas: I don't know. I don't say that.

Q. Feeling that they want to be respectable and not be reminded of the origins from which they came.

Douglas: I know. But take New York. The Triangle Shirtwaist Fire. I think 150 girls were burnt to death, working in a loft factory with inadequate fire escapes, and the rest. Let each locality find its unselfish heroes and heroines and commemorate them. I think we frequently don't do enough for the war heroes. I quite agree with Harry Truman that to be awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor is the highest distinction—military distinction—that one can receive, generally granted posthumously. But we can do much more to commemorate those medal winners—and similarly, we ought to honor our civic and union heroes and heroines. A few legislative heroes, two, such as George Norris and old Bob LaFollette, who shouldn't be forgotten. When I'm in Madison, I always go out to the cemetery, stand by the grave of old Bob.

Q. And also the memory of men like Andy Furuseth.

Douglas: Yes, yes. He was a real hero. Never married. Lived in a \$3 a week room.

Q. That famous line he delivered—

Douglas: "Tomorrow is also a day." Yes, those are marvelous men. LaFollette's great legislative achievement, aside from the physical evaluation of railways was the passing of the Seamen's Act of 1915, which of course, Furuseth had been working on for 20 years. Well, I suggest that to you, John. To give a third dimension to union activity—to give it the dimension of time—the dimension of time . . . We had some great labor leaders in Chicago—old honest John Fitzpatrick was one of these.

Q. To go back a moment to another phase of developments in our time. I remember that shortly after World War II, seeing you come out of the Department of Labor, where the first post-war labor-management conference was being held. How do you judge that—and why did it fail?

Douglas: Well, I tried to organize the agenda for it. I had been wounded in the Pacific, and was due to go back in the hospital and be operated on again. I set the agenda and carried out some of the initial work. George Taylor did most of the work inside the conference itself. It failed because the employers were not yet ready to concede collective bargaining. And there were elements in the labor movement which were not yet ready to concede the peaceful arbitration of disputes arising under a contract.

Q. That limited form of arbitration.

Douglas: That's right. I've always felt that we should not—except in rare cases—arbitrate new contracts but that you should set up machinery for arbitrating disputes under a contract. Do I make myself clear?

Q. Yes, indeed.

Douglas: I arbitrated for seventeen years in the newspaper industry. I was one of the national arbitrators, chairman there, I think I handed out something like 85 decisions.

Q. Where, in Chicago?

Douglas: No, no, in the country as a whole. One of the national chairmen. On the printing trades. The secret of relative peace in the clothing trades has been this arbitration of grievances and disputes under a contract.

Q. The next step after the 1945 conference, came the movement in the 80th Congress, and the Taft-Hartley Law (in 1947).

Douglas: That was, of course, a result of the defeat of the Democratic Party in 1946.

Q. What was the responsibility of the trade union movement as such?

Douglas: They opposed the Taft-Hartley Act. They simply didn't have the votes. Of course, this much must be said. There was suspicion of the labor movement because in some of the industrial unions the Communist factions had attained pretty strong footholds. The election of Reuther as president of the UAW . . . broke the back of the Communist movement in the UAW and then the CIO, under Murray, carried out a purge in '49 and '50, but they didn't show their hand really as to who they were until they began coming out against our foreign policy in '47 and '48 and then coming out for Henry Wallace for President in 1948. Then, if you combine with this the fact that many of the leaders had been for the resistance to Hitler up until the time when Hitler and Stalin made their pact, and then switched over to any opposition to action against Hitler when Hitler and Stalin agreed in August of '39. That was one of the litmus paper tests by which you could judge whether they were independent or not.

Q. Actually, a lot of liberals swung with them. So called liberals.

Douglas: I know, I know.

Q. This was part of the complication.

Douglas: That is right.

Q. Then came the period after the passage of the Taft-Hartley law of about twelve years and then we got the Landrum-Griffin Law.

Douglas: During that period labor made gains. It couldn't repeal Taft-Hartley or appreciably modify it because of the bi-partisan coalition between the Republicans and the Southern Democrats. We got Landrum-Griffin largely because of the abuses perpetrated by Mr. James Hoffa—

Q. And a few others.

Douglas: And a few others—that were maintaining themselves in office by undemocratic procedures, and the rank and file in some locals and some internationals were not getting a chance to vote for the election of officers. That's what gave the driving force. Labor abuses create reaction. And labor tends to be judged by more severe standards than employers are judged.

Q. General Electric and Westinghouse seem to have recovered from the effects of their great price conspiracy.

Douglas: That's right, you wrote a very good book about that.

Q. Well, that was a reason I wrote the book, really, because I was interested in the contrast between the legislative attitudes toward violations by labor and violations by corporations.

Douglas: Who was it that wrote, "The rich attain friendships to which the poor dare not aspire." The derelictions of the powerful are always more readily excused than those of the less powerful.

—Well, we've covered quite a lot of territory.

Very truly yours,

JOHN HERLING, *Editor*.

INDIA AND WHEAT

Mr. YOUNG of North Dakota. Mr. President, the wheatgrowers of the Nation can be immensely proud of the enormous contribution they are making to preventing the food crisis in India from developing into a famine of the worst order.

Of the vast quantities of grain that poured into India in 1966 as its Government struggled with the food problem, by far the largest item was wheat produced on the farms of the United States. Our exports of this life-giving grain to India in calendar year 1966 totaled roughly a quarter billion bushels. That is nearly a fourth of a year's crop.

To service this incoming tide of golden grain from the United States and convert it as directly as possible into food for its masses, the Government of India has developed a food line of great magnitude. Wheat moves from ship to truck to mouth in an immense feeding operation estimated to involve 100,000 retail distributors, tens of thousands of boxcars, and an immense labor force engaged in unloading and bagging the grain.

Transported in bulk in huge ocean-going tankers, our wheat is unloaded in Bombay, Calcutta, or one of a half dozen smaller Indian ports. It is bagged in jute sacks and delivered by truck within the port cities and by railroad to inland places.

Most retail sales are made in India's fair-price shops, small stores in the bazaars of cities and towns. They sell imported wheat from the same bags in which it came into the country.

Having bought her wheat, the housewife then has it ground into a whole-wheat flour from which she bakes chapatis, an unleavened bread that is a staple of the Indian diet.

It can be seen that there are no frills about the way in which our wheat moves into the mouths of the Indian people. There is a minimum of processing. It is food that many of us would not find inviting, but it fills stomachs and it sustains life. Retail prices are strictly controlled, and there is rationing in all hard-hit areas.

Behind this lifesaving stream lies the fertility of America's wheatlands, the diligence of its wheatgrowers and the abundance stored in country warehouses and terminal centers. What we are doing for the people of India will live long in the annals of man's brotherhood to man.

I am proud of this contribution.

AMERICAN INSTITUTE FOR FOREIGN TRADE, PHOENIX, ARIZ.

Mr. FANNIN. Mr. President, America's ability to compete effectively in the world marketplace of commerce and industry is due primarily to the caliber of graduates from the Nation's many fine schools and universities specializing in international economic leadership. One school that has long been a recognized leader in this field is the American Institute for Foreign Trade, located in Phoenix, Ariz.

The AIFT is famous more for the quality of its students and accomplishments of its graduates than it is for their numbers, though these figures also are impressive. The institute, primarily because its faculty members are recognized leaders in their fields, attracts students from all 50 States and from many foreign nations as well. Its graduates have distinguished themselves in careers in industry, in government, and in many of

the humanitarian organizations dealing in, or concerned with, international business and commerce.

The institute is particularly well known for its Latin-American area studies program, in which as many as two-thirds of the students are enrolled. It is particularly heartening that this interest comes at a time when friendly relations between America and her neighbors to the south grow in importance each day.

Mr. President, in recognition of its outstanding contribution to international business and good will, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a descriptive account of the American Institute for Foreign Trade, written by Robert L. Gulick, Jr., dean of admissions.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THUNDERBIRD: A PERSONAL ACCOUNT

(By Robert L. Gulick, Jr., dean of admissions)

I knew about the American Institute for Foreign Trade during the early days of its existence because it was part of my assignment at the Institute of Economics, University of California, to keep abreast of efforts of colleges and universities training for international economic leadership. Thunderbird, as AIFT was and is popularly known, was a pioneer operation in this field.

In a sense, the Thunderbird may be regarded as symbolic of AIFT's three-fold curriculum. Among the Northern tribes, the Thunderbird is revered as the protector of brotherhood, peace, and plenty. The Institute offers functional language instruction to enable students to understand and be understood and this tool of communication should be conducive to brotherhood. Area Studies, emphasizing customs, cultural history, economic resources, ways of doing business, and the international trade of a major economic region, could well be a major weapon in the fight for peace. International commerce courses, embodying the union of theory and practice, should promote world plenty.

In March 1964, when I affiliated with AIFT after spending more than a decade in North Africa, Thunderbird had only 221 students. In September 1965, enrollment passed the 300 mark, which had been regarded as the maximum desirable. At the May Commencement in 1966, AIFT acquired a new President in the person of Dr. Arthur L. Peterson, graduate of Yale with a Master's degree from U.S.C. and a doctorate from the University of Minnesota. President Peterson compressed academic and practical pursuits in his remarkable career: member of the Wisconsin Legislature for two terms, Marine Captain in Korea and lay minister, professor of political science at universities in Wisconsin and Ohio, right-hand man of the chairman of a major political party, etc. President Peterson lost no time in deciding that the Institute should continue to advance both quantitatively and qualitatively. Under his leadership, every phase of the Institute's operations has felt a new "stir of life." Four apartment buildings and a lounge, to accommodate fifty married couples, were erected in the summer of 1966. In September 1966, the National City Bank established a chair in International Finance and the American Management Association announced its support of a similar chair in Management.

The Citibank professorship is held by Jonathan Fildes, recipient of the doctorate from the University of London. Dr. Fildes has had a highly successful career in Canada and other countries; one of his tasks was to innovate a number of computer techniques at Avon Products, Singer, and in engineering companies. He coordinates a new course

whose total hours spent in anti-illiteracy lessons have already been severely reduced in order to conserve dollars, constitute only a fraction of those in need of similar opportunities.

What has been done to date is just a demonstration of what might be accomplished through increased and sustained effort. It is difficult to say whether discontinuation of the program would be more cruel to those who have already been given a glimpse of what they might eventually have accomplished or to those hundreds of thousands who will never know.

The issue transcends the local dilemma and the adult literacy program. Although the affluent sector of the home front may not have to sacrifice its butter for the guns needed in Vietnam, the flow of ammunition into the battle of the slums is drying up. For those who cannot read and write, the promise of literacy represents a negotiable share in the affluent society—not just a promissory note to the dream of a Great one.

CORRECTION OF THE RECORD

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, on January 31, I paid tribute to Mr. Edgar G. Crossman. Inadvertently, in my remarks, Mr. Crossman was referred to as Edward G. Crossman. I hereby ask unanimous consent that the permanent bound CONGRESSIONAL RECORD be corrected in two instances where Mr. Crossman is incorrectly referred to. My remarks appear on page H805 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of January 31, 1967.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

COURTESY CALL BY THE CARRIER "FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT" AT CAPE TOWN, SOUTH AFRICA, FEBRUARY 4

(Mr. O'HARA of Illinois asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am very much concerned that, contrary to the statement made by the then Assistant Secretary of State, the Honorable Mennen Williams, an American ship of war flying the American flag is to make a courtesy visit to South Africa under conditions which will not permit Negro members of the crew of that American vessel to land and be accepted on an equality with white members of the crew of that American vessel of war.

Mr. Speaker, when Secretary Williams appeared before the Subcommittee on Africa, of which I am the chairman, he said:

More importantly, we have cancelled operational port calls in South Africa of U.S. Naval vessels and carriers, and air flights, rather than accept the application of racial conditions to our personnel.

I am now informed, Mr. Speaker, that the U.S. aircraft carrier *Franklin Delano Roosevelt* is to make a courtesy call at Cape Town, South Africa, February 4. The news has just reached me and but 2 days remain before the proposed courtesy visit.

As chairman of the Subcommittee on Africa of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, I am respectfully but firmly suggesting that the State Department immediately communicate with the De-

fense Department and call off this proposed courtesy visit unless assurances of the strongest and most binding nature have been given by the agreement of South Africa that there has been a complete abandonment of the conditions of enforced discrimination that caused the cancellation of operational port calls in South Africa as announced by the then Assistant Secretary of State Mennen Williams. The United States cannot be a party in any sense or in any form or in any measure to the brutal and inhuman system of apartheid which has aroused world condemnation.

Mr. RYAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. I am glad to yield to my friend from New York.

Mr. RYAN. I want to join in the request of the distinguished gentleman from Illinois that the State Department cancel this visit. It is really an outrage to the American people.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. I thank the gentleman from New York.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

(Mr. GERALD R. FORD asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I take this time for the purpose of asking the distinguished majority leader the program for the remainder of this week and the agenda for next week.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, will my good friend yield to me?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I yield to the distinguished gentleman.

Mr. ALBERT. In response to the inquiry of the distinguished minority leader, after the disposition of the President's message and special orders and miscellaneous matters pending we will seek permission to adjourn over until Monday of next week.

Monday is Consent Calendar day, but there are no bills and there are no suspensions.

Tuesday is Private Calendar day, but there is no business.

We expect to consider the bill H.R. 4573, on the national debt ceiling temporary increase, on Wednesday next. If that bill is disposed of on Wednesday next, as we anticipate and hope, there will be no legislative business on Thursday, although we will of course meet on Thursday. Then we will adjourn over until the Monday following.

There is no legislative business for Monday and Tuesday of the following week.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Under the arrangement which was previously agreed to, there is a possibility that there would be legislative business on Wednesday, February 15?

Mr. ALBERT. The gentleman is correct.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. Do I correctly understand the gentleman to say it is hoped to take up the debt ceiling bill—and I assume under a rule—on Wednesday and to dispose of it on Wednesday?

Mr. ALBERT. We hope to. There is no guarantee of it.

Mr. GROSS. Would not the distinguished majority leader think we ought to have about 8 or 10 hours of debate on a bill of that magnitude?

Mr. ALBERT. I would not think that much time would be required, I say to the gentleman. I know the gentleman does not want anything like as much time as he usually takes on such subjects as this.

Mr. GROSS. I ask the distinguished majority leader: Why not have full and ample debate? It is an important matter.

Mr. ALBERT. We can have it. There will be no disposition on the part of the leadership not to have full and ample debate. If it is required to go over until Thursday, we will go over until Thursday.

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. HAYS. I would suggest on that debt ceiling bill that we do not really need too much time, because it has been brought up twice a year as far back as I can remember, and that goes back about 18 years. If there is anything new to be said about it, I think people ought to have some time to do it, but other than that they can just insert the remarks they have made for 18 years.

Mr. ALBERT. Will the gentleman yield to me further?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. ALBERT. If I may advise my good friend from Iowa, who knows this already, but for the RECORD this matter has been discussed by the leadership. This is the annual courtesy extended by the Democratic leadership to our Republican friends who always like to go home and make speeches in honor of one of the greatest Presidents of all time, Abraham Lincoln.

Mr. GROSS. If the gentleman will yield to me further, it seems to me that can be accomplished from late Thursday afternoon until Monday or Tuesday morning. With respect to the statement of the gentleman from Ohio, I am sure he is not unmindful of what happened last fall. We Republicans have a little hope these days that we may be able to convince a few people they have been spending too much money over on the other side of the aisle.

Mr. ALBERT. That hope rises about once in every 10 years.

Mr. GROSS. Oh, no.

Mr. HAYS. Will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

Mr. HAYS. Let me say to you, do not get your hopes up too high, because all of these Republican Governors, including the one from my State, like to point their finger at the Congress as the big spenders, and next afternoon they are all here to get their share of it. Now, you fellows have a proposal that we collect some of the money and give it to them so they will be even bigger spenders and look even better.

Mr. GROSS. I understand the Democrat Governors went down to the ranch

in Texas and were lined up against the fence in the old corral and figuratively shot down when they protested some of the things that have been going on in Washington.

Mr. HAYS. If they were shot down, I did not hear about it.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I yield to our distinguished majority leader.

Mr. ALBERT. I think it is most appropriate that we give ample time for the Nation and our friends on the other side to discuss Abraham Lincoln. I feel this sincerely, because I know in my own heart that if Abraham Lincoln were living today, he would be a Democrat.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. If I might add a comment to that which has been made by the gentleman from Oklahoma, we embrace Abraham Lincoln. However, I disagree with him in his statement. He would be a Republican. We have not abandoned Lincoln like so many Democrats have abandoned Thomas Jefferson.

INDIA FOOD—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (H. DOC. NO. 51)

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States; which was read and referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed:

To the Congress of the United States:

I

Last February I proposed that all mankind join in a war against man's oldest enemy: hunger.

Last March I proposed that the United States take part in an urgent international effort to help the Government of India stave off the threat of famine.

I address you today to report progress in organizing the war against hunger and to seek your counsel on steps still to be taken. For again this year, drought in India—as in other nations—underlines the cruel mathematics of hunger and calls for action.

The problem is immense. It cannot be solved unless each country reaches a considered judgment on the course to be pursued. The greatest power on earth is the will of free peoples, expressed through the deliberative processes of their national assemblies. I ask you today to take the lead in a vital act of democratic affirmation.

India is not alone in facing the specter of near famine. One-half of the world's people confront this same problem.

India's plight reminds us that our generation can no longer evade the growing imbalance between food production and population growth. India's experience teaches that something more must be done about it.

From our own experience and that of other countries, we know that something can be done. We know that an agricultural revolution is within the capacity of modern science.

We know that land can be made to produce much more food—enough food for the world's population, if reasonable population policies are pursued. With-

out some type of voluntary population program, however, the nations of the world—no matter how generous—will not be able to keep up with the food problem.

We know, too, that failure to act—and to act now—will multiply the human suffering and political unrest, not only in our generation but in that of our children and their children.

The aim of the war against hunger is to help developing nations meet this challenge. It is the indispensable first step on the road to progress.

If we are to succeed, all nations—rich and poor alike—must join together and press the agricultural revolution with the same spirit, the same energy, and the same sense of urgency that they apply to their own national defense. Nothing less is consistent with the human values at stake.

Last year, many responded to India's emergency. Canada was particularly generous in sending food aid. Each member of the India Aid Consortium made a special effort to meet India's need. Nonmembers, Australia among others, also helped. The private contributions of the Italian and Dutch people were especially heartwarming. But the bleak facts require a sustained international effort on a greater scale. Today I propose that all nations make the new Indian emergency the occasion to start a continuing worldwide campaign against hunger.

II

The first obligation of the community of man is to provide food for all of its members. This obligation overrides political differences and differences in social systems.

No single nation or people can fulfill this common obligation. No nation should be expected to do so. Every country must participate to insure the future of all. Every country that makes a determined effort to achieve sufficiency in food will find our Government, our technical experts and our people its enthusiastic partners. The United States is prepared to do its share.

In pursuing the war on hunger, the world must face up to stark new facts about food in our times.

Food is scarce. Nowhere is there a real surplus. Food aid must be allocated according to the same priorities that govern other development assistance.

Per capita food production in many parts of the less-developed world is not increasing. In some cases, it is even declining. This grim fact reflects both a rising curve of population and a lagging curve of agricultural production.

There is no substitute for self-help. The first responsibility of each nation is to supply the food its people needs. The war against hunger can only be won by the efforts of the developing nations themselves.

Food aid is a stopgap, not a permanent cure. It must be viewed as part of a nation's effort to achieve sufficiency in food, not as a substitute for it.

Agriculture must receive a much higher priority in development plans and programs. The developing nations can no longer take food supplies for granted,

while they concentrate on industrial development alone, or spend vitally needed resources on unnecessary military equipment.

Agricultural development must be planned as part of a nation's overall economic and social program. Achieving a balance between population and resources is as important as achieving a balance between industrial and agricultural growth.

Fertilizer, seed, and pesticides must be provided in much greater quantities than ever before. Their use increases food production and permanently changes the productive capability of farmers. A ton of fertilizer properly used this year can mean several tons of grain next year.

All advanced nations—including those which import food—must share the burden of feeding the hungry and building their capacity to feed themselves.

The war on hunger is too big for governments alone. Victory cannot come unless businessmen, universities, foundations, voluntary agencies, and cooperatives join the battle.

Developing nations with food deficits must put more of their resources into voluntary family planning programs.

These are the facts your Government has been stressing throughout the world. Many of them are unpleasant. But our lives are pledged to the conviction that free people meet their responsibilities when they face the truth.

These facts draw into bold relief the two main thrusts in the offensive against hunger:

First, the hungry nations of the world must be helped to achieve the capacity to grow the food their people need or to buy what they cannot grow.

Second, until they can achieve this goal, the developed nations must help meet their needs by food shipments on generous terms.

The level of food aid will decline as self-help measures take hold. Until that point is reached, food aid is an inescapable duty of the world community.

III

During the past year, the advanced nations have made progress in preparing the ground for the international war on hunger.

First, the pattern of international cooperation has steadily improved.

Last July we were pleased to act as host to a high-level meeting of the Development Assistance Committee of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development which focused primarily on the world food problem.

We encouraged greater contributions to the world food program by increasing our pledge to that program and by offering to match with commodities contributions in both cash and commodities from other countries.

We cosponsored a resolution in the United Nations that launched a U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization study of whether and how to organize a multi-lateral food aid program of vastly larger proportions.

In the Kennedy round of trade negotiations, we have advanced a proposal to make available from all sources 10

million tons of food grains annually for food aid, to be supported by grain exporters and importers alike. This proposal is now being discussed in Geneva as part of an international cereals arrangement.

We are now participating in a study initiated by the Food and Agriculture Organization—in cooperation with the World Bank, the U.N. and the OECD—to examine how multilateral action might increase the availability and effective use of fertilizers and other materials needed to speed up agricultural production.

At the OECD ministerial meeting this fall, we advanced a proposal to develop an Agricultural Food Fund to encourage private investment in the basic agricultural industries of the developing countries.

Second, the United States encouraged a multilateral response to last year's emergency in India.

The worst drought of the century threatened millions with starvation and countless more with disease born of malnutrition. As a result, I recommended, and you in the Congress, approved a program to send over 8 million tons of food grain to India. In an unprecedented display of common concern, governments, private organizations, and individuals in 42 other nations joined in providing \$180 million in food and other commodities to meet the needs of that country. Overall, India imported almost 11 million tons of grain and used several million tons from its own emergency food reserves.

The fact that India did not experience famine ranks among the proudest chapters in the history of international cooperation. But last year's effort—heartening as it was—was hasty and improvised. The world must organize its response to famine—both today and for the years ahead.

Third, this year's economic aid program makes agricultural development a primary objective.

The AID program, which I will shortly send to the Congress, includes funds to finance imports of fertilizer, irrigation pumps, and other American equipment and know-how necessary to improve agriculture in the developing countries.

Fourth, I proposed and the Congress enacted far-reaching legislation which provides the strong foundation for the new food-for-freedom program.

The central theme of the program is self-help. The legislation authorized concessional sales of food to countries which prove their determination to expand their own food production.

iv

All of us know where the real battle is fought. Whatever the efforts in world capitals, the real tale is told on the land. It is the man behind the mule—or the bullock—or the water buffalo—who must be reached. Only his own government and his own people can reach him.

Thus, the most important progress of the past year has occurred in the developing countries themselves. And there is progress to report.

India—the largest consumer of food aid—perhaps provides the best example.

This has been a year of innovation in Indian agriculture. Agricultural development now has top priority in India's economic plan. Much remains to be done. But the evidence is unmistakable. India has started on the right path. India has:

Imposed a food rationing system to make efficient use of existing supplies.

Streamlined its transportation system to improve distribution.

Increased prices paid to the farmer, thus providing new incentives to use fertilizer, improved seeds, and other modern materials.

Begun large-scale operations with new varieties of rice introduced from Taiwan and with large quantities of high-yielding wheat seed imported from Mexico.

Approved plans to increase public investment in agriculture by more than 100 percent during the new 5-year plan.

Started to expand rural credit, improve water supply, and accelerate the distribution of fertilizer to remote areas.

Stepped up family planning.

Negotiated an agreement for the first of several externally financed fertilizer plants to expand India's supply of home-produced fertilizers.

India is off to a good start. But it is only a start. As Indian officials have warned, hard work remains in reaching targets they have set and in improving cooperation among state governments. India's economic problems are enormous. But they can be solved.

What India has begun to do represents the growing realization in the developing world that long-term economic growth is dependent on growth in agriculture. Not every country has made an effort as great as India's. But in some countries, production has improved more rapidly.

Everywhere there is an air of change. No longer does industrial development alone attract the best minds and talents. Agriculture is now attracting the young and more enterprising economists, administrators, and entrepreneurs in the developing world.

This is the best measure of progress in the war on hunger and the best assurance of success.

v

India's food problem requires a major commitment of our resources and those of other advanced countries. India's population is equal to that of 66 members of the United Nations.

Broad authority exists under our legislation for national action by Executive decision alone. But the issues presented here are of such moment, and on such a scale, as to make it important that we act together, as we do on other great issues, on the firm foundation of a joint resolution of Congress.

I ask you to support the broad approach we have proposed to the international community as a basic strategy for the war on hunger. That strategy rests on three essential principles:

1. Self-help. The war on hunger can be won only by the determined efforts of the developing nations themselves. International aid can help them. But it can only help if they pursue well-conceived and well-executed long-range plans of their own.

2. Multilateral participation. The assistance of the international community must be organized in a coalition of the advanced and the developing nations.

3. Comprehensive planning. The international community must develop a comprehensive plan to assist India to fulfill its program of achieving food sufficiency, not only during this year, but for the next few years as well.

Most of you are familiar with the events of the past year. Drought limited India's food grain production to 72 million tons in the 1965-66 crop year, compared with a record 88 million tons the previous year. A massive international emergency program met the immediate crisis. But India had to use precious food reserves—that are thus not available to meet the shortages created by a second successive bad crop.

The weather since then has brought little relief. The general outlook is slightly improved, and overall production may reach 79 million tons this year. But late last summer a severe drought hit heavily populated areas in north-central India. Unless Indian production is supplemented by substantial imports—perhaps 10 million tons by present estimates for calendar 1967—more than 70 million people will experience near famine.

The Government of India has already taken internal measures to move grain from its more fortunate areas to the drought areas. Imports of 2.3 million tons of grain are now in the pipeline to meet India's needs for the first 2 or 3 months of 1967. India has purchased some 200,000 tons of this grain with her own scarce foreign exchange. Canada with 185,000 tons, Australia with 150,000 tons and the Soviet Union with 200,000 tons have already joined the United States with its 1.6 million tons, in an impressive multilateral effort to help.

India's immediate problem—and the world's problem—is to fill the remaining gap for the balance of this year.

Because these facts bear heavily on the extent of U.S. food shipments, I have requested and received careful verification from our Ambassador in New Delhi, from the Secretary of Agriculture and from Members of Congress, who have recently been in India, including Senator McGEE and Senator MOSS.

I am particularly grateful to Representative POACE and Representative DOLE and Senator MILLER, who at my request made a special trip to India in December to assess the situation on the ground. Their careful and thorough analysis of the situation in India and their recommendations to me have been of great value.

During the last 2 weeks, the Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs and the Under Secretary of Agriculture have consulted in New Delhi and with most members of the World Bank's India Consortium.

The work of all these men and the diplomatic efforts of the Government of India have laid the foundation for the steps we must now take.

The United States cannot—and should not—approach this problem alone or on

an improvised basis. We must support the Indian Government's efforts to enlist the aid of other nations in developing a systematic and international approach to the problems of Indian agriculture. Our long-term objective is to help India achieve its goal of virtual self-sufficiency in grain by the early 1970's. Meanwhile, as part of that effort, we must help India meet its immediate food needs.

VI

In line with policies established by the Congress, and after promising consultations with the Government of India and other governments involved, I recommend the following steps to achieve these objectives:

First. Our basic policy is to approach the problem of Indian food through the India Aid Consortium organized under the chairmanship of the World Bank. That Consortium has already developed a multilateral approach to economic assistance for India. Now, we propose to make food aid a part of that multilateral assistance program. We seek effective multilateral arrangements to integrate Indian food aid with broader programs of economic assistance and with capital and technical assistance for agricultural development.

In a preliminary way, we have consulted with the Government of India and with other members of the Consortium. There is substantial agreement among Consortium members on the major points of our proposal:

Meeting food needs of India during this emergency should be accepted as an international responsibility in which each nation should share;

Emergency food and food-related aid should be coordinated through the World Bank Consortium;

This aid should not diminish the flow of resources for other development programs. It should be in addition to the targets for each country suggested by the World Bank.

Adding food aid to the responsibilities of the Consortium is sound economics and fair burden sharing. The Consortium provides a proper channel for the food and food-related aid of donors who have not previously been involved in the food field. It will make clear that food provided from outside is as much a real contribution to Indian development as capital for specific projects or foreign exchange assistance for import programs.

Second. Should this program be established, we will support the Indian Consortium as it:

Undertakes a detailed projection of Indian food production and food aid requirements;

Prepares a program for nonfood imports required to meet food production targets, as the basis for determining the equitable share of each donor.

Reviews India's self-help efforts, reports regularly on progress and identifies areas for future concentration of energies.

Third. We must take prompt action to help India meet its emergency food needs. Our best present estimate is that India needs deliveries of 10 million tons of food grains this year or roughly \$725

million worth of food—2.3 million tons, worth roughly \$185 million, are already in the pipeline from a number of countries, including our own. To keep food in the pipeline, I am making an immediate allocation of 2 million tons, worth nearly \$150 million, to tide India over while the Congress acts.

I recommend that Congress approve a commitment to share fully in the international effort to meet India's remaining food grain deficit of 5.7 million tons—worth about \$400 million. To that end, I recommend a U.S. allocation of an additional amount of food grain, not to exceed 3 million tons, provided it is appropriately matched by other countries. I recommend that approximately \$190 million available to the Commodity Credit Corporation in calendar 1967 be used for this purpose. These funds, if allotted, will have to be replenished by appropriation in fiscal 1968.

Fourth. I recommend your approval of an allocation of \$25 million in food commodities for distribution by CARE and other American voluntary agencies, to assist the Government of India in an emergency feeding program in the drought areas of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh.

Fifth. We hope other donors will accelerate their exports of fertilizers to India.

Unless the application of chemical fertilizers rises sharply in India, she will not be able to meet her food grain targets. Those fertilizer targets are ambitious, yet they must be met and if possible, exceeded. Marshaling more fertilizer imports is as important to meeting India's emergency as gathering additional grain. India herself must take prompt steps to increase her fertilizer investment and production and improve its distribution.

Sixth. I propose for the longer run to continue encouraging U.S. private investors to participate in India's program to expand production of chemical fertilizers. We will urge other governments to encourage their own producers.

Seventh. We intend to pursue other initiatives in the broader context of world agricultural development:

We shall continue to press for multilateral efforts in every international forum in which we participate, including the current negotiations to establish a food aid program as part of an international cereals arrangement.

We shall continue our policy of encouraging private capital and technology to join the war on hunger.

We shall press for the creation of an investment guarantee fund by the OECD to encourage private investment in the agricultural industries of developing countries.

We shall make available to food deficit nations the technology our scientists have now developed for producing fish protein concentrate.

We shall look to the study by the President's Science Advisory Committee on the problems of food production to supply further and more definitive guidelines for near-term action and for long-range planning.

None of these steps can be as important as Indian resolve and Indian

performance. The Indian Government is committed to a bold program of agricultural modernization. That program is the foundation for the entire international effort to help India. We believe that a self-reinforcing process of improvement is underway in India, affecting both agricultural techniques and Government administration. On the basis of that conviction, we can move forward to do our share under the food-for-freedom program of 1966.

VII

I believe these proposals are in our national interest. I believe that they reflect the deepest purposes of our national spirit.

I am asking the Congress, and the American people, to join with me in this effort and in an appeal to all the nations of the world that can help. I am asking the Congress to consider thoroughly my recommendations and to render its judgment. The executive branch, this Nation, and other nations will give full attention to the contributions that congressional debate may produce.

There are many legitimate claims on our resources. Some may question why we devote a substantial portion to a distant country.

The history of this century is ample reply. We have never stood idly by while famine or pestilence raged among any part of the human family. America would cease to be America if we walked by on the other side when confronted by such catastrophe.

The great lesson of our time is the interdependence of man. My predecessors and I have recognized this fact. All that we and other nations have sought to accomplish in behalf of world peace and economic growth would be for naught if the advanced countries failed to help feed the hungry in their day of need.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, February 2, 1967.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE ON FOOD AID

(Mr. ALBERT asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, President Johnson's statement clearly outlines the dimensions of the food crisis in India, offers explicit direction to the solution of that crisis, and challenges the community of nations to launch a full-scale war on hunger everywhere.

It was an eloquent and convincing message.

The President pointed out that the first obligation to the community of man is to provide food for all its members. And he emphasized that no single nation or people can fulfill this common trust by itself—and should not be expected to do so.

I was pleased to see the President credit the contributions made by other nations to India's emergency last year. But I was also pleased to hear him observe that, as heartening as the Indian aid efforts were, they were also hasty and improvised—and that victory in the war on hunger cannot be won without a full-

scale, coordinated, international campaign.

I was particularly impressed with the President's proposal that food aid become a part of the multilateral assistance program. I agree that adding food aid to the World Bank Consortium would provide the proper channel for the food and food-related aid of donors not previously engaged in the food field—and would constitute sound economics and fair burdensharing.

I welcomed his proposal that all other self-sustaining nations join with the United States in an all-out war on hunger, just as I appreciated his wise recognition of the fact that, ultimately, only the hungry nations can provide the final weapon in the arsenal to win that war.

It is obvious, now, that self-help is that crucial weapon—that the developing nations must learn to feed themselves before food supply is hopelessly outdistanced by people.

But it is also obvious that in the interim the hungry nations must be helped, and the President's statement today offers the humane and practical way to provide that help.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ALBERT. I am glad to yield to the distinguished minority leader.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, the President has submitted to the House today a special message with reference to food grain shipments to India.

This message, as I understand it, will be followed by an appropriate bipartisan joint resolution designed to express the sense of the Congress as to efforts by our Government to meet the severe food problems that are being faced by our friends in India.

I am sure, Mr. Speaker, that the Republicans will approach the questions involved in this legislation in a bipartisan manner.

I know that I can pledge to our countrymen that we on this side of the aisle will give this measure our most earnest and conscientious attention.

It is in that spirit, Mr. Speaker, that I urge the Committee on Agriculture to commence as soon as may be practicable a thorough consideration of this legislation.

Mr. ALBERT. I appreciate the contribution of the distinguished gentleman.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Agriculture, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE], who was necessarily called off the floor at this time, may extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

THE INDIAN FOOD CRISIS

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, I think the President's statement is wise and perceptive. Not only does it outline the dimensions of India's food crisis, but it also represents guidelines to its solution that

are both humanitarian and—in view of the new limits of our own food reserves—practical.

I visited India less than 2 months ago. There I saw, firsthand, the breadth and depth of the crisis. It is serious. It is continuing. It must be solved. India must help. India must revise her own agriculture. India must grow more food and use fewer of her acres for nonfood crops.

The monsoons of the past two seasons have been tragically disappointing. They have brought very little moisture. During the 1965–66 crop year, India experienced the worst monsoon season in nearly a century—and total food grain production fell off sharply. From the record 89-million-ton crop of the previous year, output fell to 72.3 million tons.

The rain failure was general throughout the nation, and food consumption was cut back from 187.7 kilograms of food grain per person to 175 kilograms.

Had it not been for imports of 11 million tons—of which the United States supplied nearly 80 percent—and a 4-million-ton drawdown of Indian food grain stocks accumulated the previous year, the food cutback would have been even more severe.

This crop year, the Government of India had set a target of 95 million tons of food grain production. Given a normal monsoon, it was realistic to expect production to reach at least 90 million tons.

But the monsoon was not normal. It was the second worst since India gained her independence. Though food-grain production is estimated to be 78.5 million tons, up about 6 million tons from last year, it is still 10.5 million tons below the 1964–65 record crop—and far below the target figure.

Unlike the general rain failure in the 1965–66 crop year, this year the acute drought is concentrated in northern India—but its impact is no less severe in the areas involved.

Despite the modest gain in food grain production, India will require on the order of 8 to 10 million tons of imports to maintain a minimum required level of food consumption. It should be pointed out that this estimated import requirement is based on the assumption that the Government of India will procure about 1.5 million tons of grain from the states of South India for redistribution to the drought-struck area.

The President has presented a comprehensive picture of the situation and what must be done to meet the problem. I am pleased to add my personal observations and my firm support of his proposals.

PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT ON INDIA'S FOOD NEEDS

(Mr. DOLE asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. DOLE. Mr. Speaker, I join in the statements made by the distinguished majority leader, the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. ALBERT], and the distinguished minority leader, the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. FORD], with refer-

ence to the President's statement on India and Indian food needs.

Last December, at the request of the President, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE] and I visited India and found the dimensions of the food crisis alarming. The self-help efforts being carried out in the disaster-plagued nation do, in my opinion, offer real hope and encouragement. As stated in the President's message:

The war on hunger can be won only by the determined efforts of the developing nations themselves.

I also agree that assistance from other countries must be organized and coordinated and that a comprehensive plan must be developed.

While our visit to India was brief, it did appear that the Government of India is placing increasing emphasis on agricultural development. Now in the fourth 5-year plan agriculture's priority has been established as second only to national defense, and public investment scheduled for agriculture during the fourth 5-year plan will more than double that for the third 5-year plan.

There are signs of encouragement in fertilizer production, increased supply of credit through cooperatives, development of water and soil resources, increased yields through the high-yielding varieties program, and a number of other programs designed to increase food production.

The point is that, while present efforts are not yet adequate, progress has been made, and, in my opinion, the Government of India, and the Indians themselves, are earnest and sincere in their self-help efforts.

Congress will consider the food needs of India and determine in the weeks ahead what our country can and shall properly do to assist India in 1967 and thereafter. It is a tough problem, deserving of careful and thorough consideration.

ADJOURNMENT OVER TO MONDAY

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns today, it adjourn to meet on Monday next.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

DISPENSING WITH BUSINESS IN ORDER UNDER THE CALENDAR WEDNESDAY RULE ON WEDNESDAY NEXT

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the business in order under the Calendar Wednesday rule be dispensed with on Wednesday next.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

ATTACKS ON EMBASSIES CANNOT BE CONDONED

(Mr. COLLIER (at the request of Mr. DICKINSON) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the

RECORD and to include extraneous matter.

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, I join the Members on both sides of the aisle who have expressed their disapproval of the bombings of the Yugoslav Embassy here in Washington and Yugoslav consulates in various cities of the United States. Our Government stands for law and order and our citizens believe in the use of established political and diplomatic channels for the expression of legitimate grievances.

In order that we may keep matters in their proper perspective, I am listing some of the attacks on American Embassies and their personnel that have taken place during the last 7 years. In contrast to our own Government's promptly expressed disapproval of the attacks on Yugoslav diplomatic facilities in the United States is the attitude of some foreign countries which have condoned mob actions aimed against American Embassies.

Attacks of any kind against diplomatic installations are deplorable, whether they be directed against American Embassies, legations, or consulates located throughout the world or against diplomatic facilities occupied by foreign diplomatic personnel to our own Nation.

The attacks referred to are:

November 3, 1959: A Communist-inspired mob attacked the U.S. Embassy in Panama, tore down the American flag, and insulted our country, while the Panamanian police stood by and watched.

November 1960: A U.S. Embassy clerk was shot in Havana, Cuba.

February 1961: Students attacked the U.S. Embassy in Cairo, Egypt, and a mob burned an Embassy car.

April 1961: A mob of 2,000 students smashed windows in the U.S. Embassy in Moscow.

November 1961: President De La Guardia declared Panama will not pay the United States a "single cent" for damage to American property in the anti-American demonstration in Panama on November 3.

December 1961: Pro-Katanga demonstrators raided the U.S. Embassy in Brussels, Belgium.

February 5, 1962: A mob of students stoned the U.S. Embassy and ripped down the American flag, injuring one employee, in Jakarta, Indonesia.

October 5, 1962: The United States accused Russia of roughing up the former's naval attaché in Moscow before ordering him out of the country.

October 25, 1962: More than 2,000 Czechoslovak students marched on the U.S. Embassy in Prague in a pro-Cuban demonstration and ripped down the American flag.

June 5, 1963: Castroite terrorists raided the U.S. military mission at night, forced six unarmed Americans to strip, and stole their uniforms.

June 15, 1963: Pro-Communist terrorists raided the home of a U.S. diplomat in Venezuela and tied up his wife and his maid.

July 24, 1963: The Cuban Government expropriated by decree the U.S. Embassy building in Havana in an action believed unprecedented in modern diplomacy.

November 27, 1963: Four terrorists, armed with submachine guns, kidnaped

a U.S. Army colonel from the doorstep of his house in Venezuela.

December 27, 1963: Anti-American demonstrators smashed all windows on the first three floors of the U.S. Legation in Sofia, Bulgaria.

January 16, 1964: Guards marched a U.S. diplomat away at gunpoint in Zanzibar.

January 18, 1964: U.S. Chargé d'Affaires Frederick P. Pickard III was expelled aboard a special plane from Zanzibar.

February 4, 1964: In Accra, mobs of Ghanians, egged on by government party loudspeaker trucks, marched on the U.S. Embassy, hauled down the American flag, and threatened to storm the building.

February 5, 1964: Bomb explosions damaged the American Embassy in Nicosia, Cyprus. The U.S. Ambassador immediately authorized voluntary evacuation of all American women and children on the island.

March 11, 1964: Thousands of Cambodians sacked the United States and British Embassies and their information offices in Phnompenh in a 3-hour riot.

April 1964: More than 40 secret microphones were found in the U.S. Embassy in Moscow when U.S. security men tore into the walls of the building.

May 21, 1964: Military members of the U.S. Embassy in Cairo, Egypt, were subjected to outrageous harassment.

June 6, 1964: Boisterous Vietnamese crowds denounced U.S. Ambassador Henry C. Lodge in a massive demonstration that packed Saigon's downtown streets.

October 25, 1964: The Sudanese Government ringed the American Embassy in Khartoum with armed guards after an attempt by rioting students to burn it down.

November 10, 1964: Demonstrators, ignoring a plea from the new Sudanese Premier, tore down a flag from the U.S. Embassy in Khartoum.

November 24, 1964: Michael P. E. Hoyt, U.S. consul in Stanleyville, the Congo, said the rebels there forced him and three of his colleagues to eat the American flag last August under pain of death.

November 25, 1964: About 400 African and Communist Chinese students stoned the U.S. Legation in Sofia, Bulgaria.

November 27, 1964: U.S. Ambassador Lucius Battle made a strong protest to the Egyptian Government against the burning of the John F. Kennedy Memorial Library at the U.S. Embassy in Cairo in a riotous demonstration by African students.

November 28, 1964: Howling, rock-throwing Russians and Africans stormed the American Embassy in Moscow.

December 4, 1964: A Communist-led mob in Djakarta, Indonesia, sacked the U.S. Library and Cultural Center there. Windows were smashed, one-fourth of the 15,000 books were burned or torn, and the American flag was torn down and replaced by an Indonesian flag.

December 7, 1964: More than 1,000 Indonesians attacked the U.S. Information Agency library in the East Java city of Surabaya. Some 4,000 books were destroyed. The mob tore down the U.S. flag, burned it, and ran up the Indonesian colors.

February 1965: The U.S. Information Agency library in Djakarta, Indonesia, was seized. The U.S. consulate at Medan, Sumatra, was attacked by 700 demonstrators, who tore down the U.S. flag. Carl T. Rowan, Director of the USIA, announced on March 4 that the Agency was closing its five libraries and reading rooms in Indonesia because of intolerable harassment by the Indonesian Government. Rowan said that Government not only had "failed to restrain those who have attacked the libraries periodically, but it has now seized the libraries and placed the whole USIA operation under conditions that we find intolerable." This was the first time that the USIA had withdrawn its facilities from any of the 100 nations in which it operates.

March 4, 1965: Nearly 2,000 students, mostly Asians, attacked the U.S. Embassy in Moscow. Red army troops and police dispersed the mob but not until it had shattered over 300 windows in the Embassy, defaced the U.S. seal near the entrance, and spattered its walls with ink. The United States filed a protest with the U.S.S.R. because of grossly inadequate Embassy protection.

March 30, 1965: A terrorist bomb shattered the U.S. Embassy in Saigon, South Vietnam, killing a woman Embassy secretary, a U.S. Navy petty officer, and 18 South Vietnamese, and injuring nearly 200 other persons. The bomb was placed in an automobile parked in front of the Embassy.

May 1965: Terrorists attacked the U.S. Embassy and the office of the U.S. Geodetic Survey in Caracas, Venezuela.

OUTLINE OF LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

(Mr. KEITH (at the request of Mr. Dickinson) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. KEITH. Mr. Speaker, today I have introduced a number of bills dealing with problems of domestic and foreign policy which can and should be given productive attention in the 90th Congress.

Following is a brief summary of my bills to which I commend the attention of my colleagues in the House:

Social security increase: My bill, which has the support of the Republican leadership, provides an 8-percent increase in social security benefits together with automatic increases when the cost of living rises. Unlike the President's proposal, mine will be retroactive to January 1 of this year and will not require an increase in social security taxes.

Plymouth Rock Memorial: I am reintroducing my bill from the 89th Congress to establish a national memorial at Plymouth Rock and will press for its passage early this session. I am asking the chairman of the Interior Committee to schedule early hearings so that the final shape of the bill can be worked out in cooperation with local officials.

Higher education: My bill will permit a 30-percent tax credit to offset the cost of tuition and fees for higher education and occupational training. It will be of particular benefit to those families whose

is an additive, its greatest use would be by commercial processors who make prepared foods. The limitation made in the name of free choice actually restricts that choice, since consumers cannot buy foods with the protein rich concentrate. This is an example of overregulation by a Government agency. Once having declared this concentrate fit to eat, the FDA should not be allowed to dictate the use of the food where health is not involved and where a labeling requirement can provide notice to consumers of the ingredient in a particular food.

I have been informed that the Bureau of Commercial Fisheries will conduct further tests in order to accumulate the data required by the FDA. In conducting these tests the Bureau will give processors some of the concentrate to use in manufacturing sample foods using the product. Hopefully this will clear the way for its use as an additive by commercial processors.

Only two plants were authorized by the 1966 act. In view of the approval by the Government and the great need for food for starving peoples throughout the world, this is not enough. Hungry people cannot wait for food, and American fishermen should not be forced to wait for the development of new industry. More plants are needed now. I have, therefore, introduced a bill to amend the law passed last year to boost the number of pilot plants to seven. This would allow the speedy development of this valuable resource in all American fishing areas.

No matter how many plants are built, it would be my hope that at least one would be located in the State of Alaska. Not only does Alaska have the most valuable fishery in the United States with a catch valued at \$56 million in 1964, but it has what is probably the largest untapped resource. Alaska has over 6,600 miles of coastline. This totals 55 percent of the coastline of the whole United States. Alaska is the only State that is bordered by two oceans and one sea. Beneath the waters off Alaska's coast are fish that have not been touched except perhaps by foreign fleets. A fish protein concentrate plant in Alaska could mean the key that unlocks the door to this vast wealth. I, therefore, hope the Congress will see fit to increase the number of fish protein concentrate plants and that the Secretary of Interior will see the logic and wisdom of constructing at least one of the plants in Alaska.

Mr. Speaker, I include with my remarks a copy of my bill on this subject:

H.R. 4775

A bill to increase the number of fish protein concentrate plants authorized to be constructed or leased by the Secretary of the Interior

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the first sentence of section 2(a) of the Act entitled "An Act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to develop, through the use of experiment and demonstration plants, practicable and economic means for the production by the commercial fishing industry of fish protein concentrate", approved November 2, 1966 (Public Law 89-701) is amended to read as follows: "The Secretary is also authorized to construct or acquire by

lease seven experiment or demonstration plants for the production of fish protein concentrate."

SEC. 2. (a) The first sentence of section 3 of such Act is amended to read as follows: "There is authorized to be appropriated not to exceed \$10,000,000 for the construction or lease of seven experiment or demonstration plants."

(b) The second sentence of such section is amended by striking out "\$1,555,000" and inserting in lieu thereof "\$2,000,000", and by striking out "for the leasing of one additional experiment and demonstration plant,".

LETTER TO MR. WILLIAM MANCHESTER, AUTHOR OF "DEATH OF THE PRESIDENT"

(Mr. POOL (at the request of Mr. BEVILL) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. POOL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to share with my colleagues a letter I have sent to Mr. William Manchester, author of "Death of a President." Doubtless all the Members are familiar with the current serialization of this book in Look magazine. For that reason, I believe my letter is self-explanatory.

The letter follows:

JANUARY, 31, 1967.

MR. WILLIAM MANCHESTER,
c/o Look Magazine,
488 Madison Avenue,
New York, N.Y.

DEAR MR. MANCHESTER: Since the assassination of the late President Kennedy, many have spoken harsh words about Dallas. As a Congressman from Dallas County, I have chosen to remain silent though angered by these words. Dallas is not perfect—for no city is. There is good and bad there, just as there is in every metropolitan area. But as a native of Dallas, I know that my city is a great city, a city of noble purpose and goals. Dallas stands tall among its fellow cities, and its progress and aspirations are defense enough against your condemnation.

I was silent when you spoke disparagingly of the Dallas Morning News, one of the great newspapers of the nation. It is a moderate paper, of sound thoughtful editorialization. Your criticism is not the first waged against this paper, I am sure. And like other great dailies, the News is well able to weather the storm of your unfounded words. Those who read the News know that what you term "radical excesses" are in reality careful editorial opinions based on research and long consideration. The main goal of the newspaper as an institution is to inform and educate the people. A newspaper in disagreement with an administration is morally obligated to voice its views. That is a basic freedom we cherish in Texas. Any community not blessed with a diversity of views is doomed to wither and die.

But I can no longer remain silent when I read your inferences about Robert Baskin, Chief of the Washington Bureau of the Dallas Morning News. Like Dallas, like the News, Bob Baskin requires no words in his defense as an outstanding newsman; but he is my friend, and I refuse to stand silent when he is maligned. The readers of the Dallas News have come to rely on him for his precise and objective presentation of facts. He is brilliant, and he writes brilliantly. His coverage of the assassination attests to that fact. He is a reporter admired by press and public alike.

I challenge your aspersions against Bob Baskin, Mr. Manchester. And when the his-

tory of our century is written, I believe that Mr. Baskin will outshine you as an accurate and conscientious historian.

Sincerely,

JOE POOL,
Member of Congress.

Mr. Speaker, I should also like to submit to the Members of Congress an article by Bill Rives from the January 29, 1967, issue of the Denton Record-Chronicle. Mr. Baskin has many friends in the Congress, and I know they will be interested in some firsthand information about their friend on the day of the assassination.

The article follows:

VIEWS

(By Bill Rives)

Ordinarily, I try to avoid editorializing, or getting into controversial subjects, in this space.

But I am impelled to rise to defense of an outstanding reporter, Bob Baskin of The Dallas Morning News, and I must do it here, because there is a personal involvement.

Baskin's name appears in the second installment in Look magazine's serialization of the William Manchester book on the Kennedy assassination.

In Chapter Four, Manchester described what happened to certain people—reporters, government officials, doctors, etc.—who were at Parkland Hospital in the immediate wake of the slaying of President Kennedy.

He said "During that first hour, hysteria was far more widespread than men could bring themselves to acknowledge. In retrospect, many later constructed accounts of how they felt they ought to have behaved—with emotion, but with control. The facts are more jagged.

"There was little control, and there were many aberrations that made no sense whatever."

Then he cited what he considered some odd circumstances involving some of these people. He said one reporter, Hugh Sidey (Life magazine, "took furious notes, half of which, he later found, were illegible."

Then Manchester brings in Baskin's name. "Reporter Bob Baskin simply left. He rode downtown to the city room of the Dallas News to talk to friends and find out what, if anything, was happening elsewhere in the world."

This, it seems to me, implies that Bob Baskin casually left the hospital scene, went to the Dallas News and then asked what was happening elsewhere.

Manchester paints Baskin, in my opinion, as a man who wasn't really very concerned about what was going on, as a man who was callous and unfeeling about the killing of the President; a man who went to the office and, in effect, said "Well, what else is new?"

In those 32 words, short and simple but venomously slick, Manchester slanders and defames Baskin, if other readers get the impression I think they'll get when they read it.

At the time of the assassination, I was an assistant managing editor of The Dallas News, and I have personal knowledge of what Bob Baskin did on that awful afternoon.

Baskin was one of four reporters in the press "pool" car, riding close behind the president. White House "pools" consist of a few reporters who are allowed to get close to a particular presidential activity; they report back to the rest of the White House press what they see and hear.

So Baskin was in that mad dash to the hospital after the President and Governor Connally were shot. He did a superb job of reporting from the scene, by two-way radio from one of the News photographers' cars which reached the scene shortly afterwards.

Baskin remained there for a long time, until he finally was told to come to the office and continue working there.

He did so. At the time, we were nearing the deadline for the first edition and I already had started writing a story under Baskin's name, based on notes he had dictated over the car radio. It was a first-person, I-was-there type of story. I planned for Baskin to write his own substitute story for later editions.

I had written one or two paragraphs when Baskin came into the office. I would have immediately quit writing and would have asked him to go ahead and do the story himself, since there was time, but I did not.

Baskin was so shaken by what he had seen and by the enormity of the deed that had been committed that he was trembling like a leaf. At the hospital, he had come through like the real professional that he is, but at the moment, the reaction was setting in, and he was showing it.

We got him some coffee, and the cup shook in his hand and some of the liquid spilled.

I suggested that I go ahead and finish the story and he could write one later to replace it.

He seemed relieved to be able to get a chance to compose himself, and so he agreed.

Later on, Baskin's nerves settled down and he steeled himself to the unpleasant task of writing a first-person story of the death of a president.

Does that sound like a man who "simply left" the hospital scene and went to the Dallas News "to talk to friends and find out what, if anything, was happening elsewhere in the world"?

This is why I think Manchester's words are slanderous. I was there. I know. He wasn't there. And quite obviously, he didn't bother to find out what Baskin really was doing. Baskin was doing a good job of reporting, which is what Manchester should have done.

MEETING INDIA'S FOOD NEEDS

(Mr. GALLAGHER (at the request of Mr. BEVILL) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Speaker, I was very pleased to hear the President declare that the meeting of India's food needs during this current food emergency was an international responsibility in which each nation should share. I was also impressed with his suggestion that this emergency food aid should be coordinated through the World Bank Consortium.

I was happy to hear that this aid should not diminish the flow of resources for other development programs, but rather should be additional to the World Bank's suggestions for each country.

Last year's famine in India dramatized the dependence of the food deficient countries on American grain, and this year's famine has dramatized the fact that our program of emphasizing self-help and multilateral assistance must be intensified and reinforced. It was in this context that the Food for Peace Act was conceived. Its aim was to encourage the underdeveloped countries to save themselves from starvation by their own efforts. It is the reaffirmation of this program that is the major thrust of the President's statement. It is a courageous and important act by the President, and it is one which we in Congress must affirm without undue delay.

I have just returned from a visit to India, and I can personally testify to the great improvement that the Indian Government, with our help, has fostered and realized. They stand as a great example of how the less developed countries can win their battles by themselves. They have neither faltered in their defense of freedom nor have they left any stone unturned in the conquest of poverty and famine. No, they have not won all their battles, but they have made a start. It is a significant and important start that both we and they have taken. It is a step toward greater unity in the free world and greater strength in the less-developed countries.

The basic and more intractable problems in India today are how to provide the education and training of the masses of people to more advanced ways of cultivation, how to lessen the large birth rate, and how to insure that improved methods of cultivation are successfully adopted.

India faces a crisis here and now, we all know that. However, while we must and we will move to help her out of this crisis, we cannot neglect the long range developmental programs which must at the same time be intensified. The President's message affirms his dedication to the simultaneous eradication of these two critical problems. To meet the first and more immediate problem, the President has authorized a \$25 million allocation under Public Law 480, title II, for distribution by CARE and other voluntary agencies. This special additional emergency feeding program will be used where it is most needed, in the hard-hit drought areas of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh.

Two other passages in the President's statement reflect his concern with the continuation of our long-term assistance to help the developmental programs of the Indian Government. The first was his inclusion of private industry and science in his mustering of a new, all out, coordinated attack on world hunger. Certainly private investment and new scientific breakthroughs would help to accelerate technological advance in food production in all developing countries. The second was his reaffirmation of the importance of self-help by the hungry nations, and his recognition that self-help efforts are underway in India in both agricultural techniques and Government administration.

President Johnson's compassion and understanding have led to this clear recognition of the problem and how to solve it.

I am confident, that the United States will contribute its full, fair share of food aid and assistance under the food-for-freedom program, and that the crisis in this neediest of needy nations will be resolved.

(Mr. GALLAGHER (at the request of Mr. BEVILL) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

[Mr. GALLAGHER'S remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

NEED TO REVISE SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM—XIII

(Mr. KASTENMEIER (at the request of Mr. BEVILL) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, selective service boards are now directed to consider not only the student's status and his progress toward a degree, but in addition, his class standing or alternatively, his performance on the selective service college qualification test.

General Hershey freely admits that—

The qualification test only has the appearance of being fair. It tends to get cocked over toward the mathematical because it's easier to grade for one thing.

While most college students should have no difficulty in answering general math problems, the liberal arts student, whose exposure to math in college is limited, is at a distinct disadvantage when the questions revolve around the higher mathematical fields of algebra and geometry. The validity of the entire test, however, has also been questioned. Bruce Chapman, in his recently published book, "The Wrong Man in Uniform," reports:

If the sample test released by the Selective Service System is at all indicative, the examination actually is grossly misleading in some questions, amateurish in the presentation of others (according to a leading testing expert) and on at least one of the thirty questions in the sample, plainly wrong.

As for the use of class ranking, these ratings are actually meaningless, because the grading practices and standards vary widely among members of the same faculty, among units of the same university and between institutions. It would be a mistake to assume that a student who is in the first half of his class in one institution is likely to be no more than the educational equal of another student in a similar position in his class but in an inferior institution. I seriously question whether these differences are taken under consideration by the local draft boards when evaluating the class standing of a registrant. Several universities have refused to issue these rankings, considering them to be "imprecise" and "academically indefensible." At the University of Michigan, students reflected overwhelming opposition to the compilation of academic class standings for use by the Selective Service System by voting, last November, 6,389 against compilation of the rankings to only 3,518 in favor.

The emphasis on grades and class standing produced by the selective service procedures will surely intensify several undesirable features of our present system of higher education. Many educators are troubled by the emphasis on conventional academic achievement in the form of high grades already pronounced in our colleges and universities. Dr. Hugh Borton, president of Haverford College, has said:

It seems clear that the fact that a student's numerical rank in class will be used to determine his draft status is interfering with the best selection of courses.

city. It came none too soon; the U.S. Public Health Service describes the sulphur-dioxide concentrations in the New York-New Jersey metropolitan area as "the worst, the most critical" in the U.S.

In heavily polluted New Jersey, which shares high sulphur-dioxide concentrations with New York, a state assemblyman introduced a bill that would empower the Governor to shut down plants and incinerators and prohibit the movement of vehicles and the burning of any fuel during smog emergencies. Private citizens or corporate officers refusing to comply could be fined as much as \$100,000 and imprisoned for as long as ten years.

To clear the air in Chicago, the city has launched a campaign to force local steel plants to adopt costly antipollution techniques, and transportation officials are investigating combination diesel-electric buses that would reduce exhaust fumes. An Illinois legislator has gone so far as to introduce a bill that would limit the use of Illinois coal—which has a high sulphur content—in public buildings.

GRADUAL SUFFOCATION

But with these few exceptions, most communities in the U.S. have still to come to grips with the problems. There is still time to do so, but it is dwindling. U.C.L.A. Meteorologist Morris Nelburger points out that the air that now streams across the Pacific from Asia is clean when it reaches the west coast of the U.S. It picks up pollution over the coastal states, loses some over the Rockies, and becomes dirty again as it moves toward the Eastern Seaboard. "Imagine the smog that would accumulate," he says, "if every one of the 800 million Chinese drove a gasoline-powered automobile—as every Angeleno does."

The Chinese autos and the new factories that produce them will quickly pollute the Asian skies, Nelburger fears, dirtying the air currents even before they reach the U.S. Eventually, if air pollution increases beyond the capacity of the atmosphere to cleanse itself, smog will encircle the earth, he says, "and all of civilization will pass away. Not from a sudden cataclysm, but from gradual suffocation by its own effluents."

Other scientists are concerned about the tremendous quantities of carbon dioxide released into the air by the burning of "fossil fuels" like coal and oil. Because it is being produced faster than it can be absorbed by the ocean or converted back into carbon and oxygen by plants, some scientists think that the carbon dioxide in the atmosphere has increased by about 10% since the turn of the century. The gas produces a "greenhouse" effect in the atmosphere; it allows sunlight to penetrate it, but effectively blocks the heat generated on earth by the sun's rays from escaping back into space.

No Apocalypse. There has already been a noticeable effect on earth—a gradual warming trend. As the carbon-dioxide buildup continues and even accelerates, scientists fear that average temperatures may, in the course of decades, rise enough to melt the polar ice caps. Since this would raise ocean levels more than 100 feet, it would effectively drown the smog problems of the world's coastal cities.

The waters, however, need never rise. Within his grasp, man has the means to prevent any such apocalyptic end. Over the short run, fuels can be used that produce far less pollutant as they burn. Chimneys can be filtered so that particulate smoke is reduced. Automobile engines and anti-exhaust devices can be made far more efficient. What is needed is recognition of the danger by the individual citizen and his government, the establishment of sound standards, and the drafting of impartial rules to govern the producers of pollution. Over the long run, the development of such relatively non-polluting power sources as nuclear energy

and electric fuel cells can help guarantee mankind the right to breathe.

HOW INDIA'S FOOD AID WAS EXPEDITED

(Mr. RESNICK (at the request of Mr. BEVILL) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. RESNICK. Mr. Speaker, as the food crisis in India continues, even the physical movement of needed food supplies poses a real problem—but our experience during the past year amply assures us that the problem can be handled.

Only because of extraordinary measures taken by both the United States and India was it possible to carry out with such success the 1966 Indian rescue mission which supplied the daily grain rations for 60 million of her people. We might take a look at what was done.

Late in 1965, as it became increasingly apparent that India's crop was failing, the President instructed the Secretary of Agriculture to take such measures as were necessary to help avert a critical food shortage and possible starvation in India. The Secretary of Agriculture set up a special Interagency Task Force to guide what became one of the largest food movements in history.

A special U.S. Food Grains Team was sent to India early in 1966 to get a firsthand view of food needs and logistical problems. Working with the Government of India, the team agreed on the size of the shortage and set up month-by-month food aid targets.

Food handling capacities of India's ports, inland transport, and distribution facilities were determined. Supersize tankers of up to 100,000-ton capacity were added to the India food aid run.

A representative of the Secretary of Agriculture was given a special office within the Indian Ministry of Food and Agriculture, where he helped plan and expedite food arrivals and distribution. The United States provided also a senior port administrator to assist in keeping food grains moving; pneumatic grain handling equipment for Indian ports; and grain specialists to give technical advice on handling and storing the grains.

Special arrangements were made to expedite movement of grains from the interior to U.S. ports, including use of new, fast-moving unit trains which saved at least 15 days per trip over ordinary boxcar transport. Deadlines were met and the grain moved on schedule. I would like to commend all parties responsible for so capably moving these vast quantities of food from the abundant fields of the United States to the hungry millions in India.

DISTURBED BY DECISION OF U.S. SUPREME COURT

(Mr. NICHOLS (at the request of Mr. BEVILL) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. NICHOLS. Mr. Speaker, I am

disturbed that the U.S. Supreme Court, by a five-to-four vote, has handed down a decision which would prohibit New York public schools from terminating teachers or other employees in that State who are known to be members of the Communist Party. It is amazing to me that our Supreme Court has, in essence, said that we are going to tolerate members of the Communist Party who openly advocate overthrowing our Government, and will allow them to use the public schools to espouse their doctrine to schoolchildren of these United States.

To further add insult to injury, this decision comes at a time when this country is deeply committed to an all-out war with the Communists in Vietnam. American boys are dying every day for a cause which we believe to be right. Yet here, the Supreme Court of our country is coddling and pampering and permitting and actually sanctioning these people to enhance their position here in our own country. This just does not make sense to me, and I cannot for the life of me understand this decision.

I feel so strongly about this matter that I have asked the chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee, the Honorable EDWIN E. WILLIS, of Louisiana, to sponsor necessary legislation to override this decision.

While this decision only directly affects New York State at the present time, it has raised the indignation of people everywhere, and particularly in my home State of Alabama. An example of the feelings there is exhibited in this editorial by WDNG Radio, Anniston, Ala. Mr. Speaker, I insert this editorial in the RECORD:

It is so inconceivable it almost seems like a dream—a nightmare. A couple of days ago the U.S. Supreme Court handed down a decision against New York Public Schools and in favor of Communist Party members.

The decision stated that New York may not fire public school teachers or any other civil servants solely because they are members of the Communist Party. Thus, comes to an end New York State's entire teacher-loyalty program that has been in effect since 1939.

Justice William J. Brennan, Jr., speaking for the majority said (Quote), "Our Nation is deeply committed to safeguarding academic freedom, which is transcendent value to all of us, and not merely to the teachers concerned," end quote. Five justices voted for this unbelievable decision and four against.

Of course, the decision will stand until it is reversed by the court, or until it is overruled by the Congress.

All Communist literature says this country will be defeated from within—that the Red takeover will happen without a shot being fired. The U.S. Supreme Court, through its most recent decision, talks about defending the U.S. Constitution when in reality the court is tearing it to shreds. Members of the Communist Party are avowed enemies of America's way of life. How do you offer equal protection and privileges to an enemy bent on destroying you?

If this is what these five members of our highest court thought our forefathers had in mind when they wrote the U.S. Constitution, then these five men are even worse off than we had feared. We are trying to halt Communist aggression in South Vietnam and in other spots throughout the world. Our young men are dying and it is costing us billions of dollars. And yet the U.S. Supreme

Court dares to hand down such a decision. It is inconsistent, to say the least.

Our only hope is that Congress will override this latest decision. Write your Congressman and your Senators.

ON WIRETAPPING

(Mr. WALDIE (at the request of Mr. BEVILL) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, additional praise for President Johnson's proposal to outlaw wiretapping, except when national security is at stake, comes from the San Francisco Chronicle. The Chronicle finds both comfort and reassurance in the President's forthright defense of the citizen's right to privacy. Joining in the newspaper's editorial support, I submit its comments on this vital subject for the RECORD.

[From the San Francisco Chronicle, Jan. 13, 1967]

JOHNSON AND THE BUGS

There was comfort and reassurance for the American citizen in that paragraph of President Johnson's State of the Union message which pertained to the right of privacy, a right which the President (quoting Justice Brandeis) appraised as "most valued by civilized men."

"We should outlaw all wire-tapping, public and private," he said, "wherever and whenever its occurs, except when the security of the nation is at stake, and only then with the strictest safeguards. We should exercise the full reach of our constitutional powers to outlaw electronic 'bugging' and 'snooping.'"

This is a forthright declaration of intent to apply legal prohibition against the use of the small, portable, long-range electronic listening devices that have increasingly invaded American privacy in recent years. It is a declaration of especial significance at this time when law enforcement agencies, not excluding the FBI, are under fire for electronic eavesdropping in connection with the Bobby Baker case, the Nevada gambling case, and numerous others.

CONGRESSMAN JOHN J. ROONEY "MAN OF THE YEAR" AWARD

(Mr. MURPHY of New York (at the request of Mr. BEVILL) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, it gives me great pleasure to bring to the attention of my colleagues the remarks of the Honorable JOHN J. ROONEY of New York, when he was given the Man of the Year Award by the John Smolenski Democratic Club of Brooklyn on January 14, 1967. This award recognizes the enormous contributions made by JOHN ROONEY to his district, his State, and the entire country in the nearly quarter of a century during which he has served in the U.S. Congress. His accomplishments have been many, but I believe that most people throughout the country will recognize him as a public servant who was and is the guardian of the peoples' purse during the 16 years he has served as the chairman of the vitally important House Appropriations Subcommittee on Appropriations for the State Department, and Related Agencies.

His speech follows:

REMARKS OF CONGRESSMAN JOHN J. ROONEY, DEMOCRAT OF NEW YORK, UPON ACCEPTANCE OF "MAN OF THE YEAR AWARD" FROM JOHN SMOLENSKI DEMOCRATIC CLUB, INC., BROOKLYN, N.Y., JANUARY 14, 1967

Professor Kusielewicz, Chairman John Budzako, Reverend Father Budny, your City Councilman George Swetnick, your Assemblyman Harold Cohn, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen:

It is with a profound sense of gratitude that I accept this award from your splendid organization named after an outstanding leader and a great friend of mine, the late Assemblyman John Smolenski. It is good to be again among you all. Yours is the very kind of association that serves as a mainstay of the American social structure which is built on a firm foundation of family life, on self discipline, devotion to God, and dedication to our country whose rich cultural heritage stems from a historically varied ethnic background. You have demonstrated time and again a healthy understanding of the principles of our founding fathers who sagaciously assured a system of government which continues to prove the greatest blessing to their posterity.

This evening I am especially glad to be here to participate with you in honoring my good friend Ed Brachocki, co-founder of your organization and for many years treasurer of the Polish National Alliance of Brooklyn, who through his many years of activity in the civic and communal life of this section, has so wisely demonstrated keen understanding of the strength derived from and of the good use made of political organization. Over the years he has explained to his neighbors the meaning of political life. He has worked to build with you the framework and the institutions of your community. I understand that your parishes and their schools have much to be thankful for to Ed Brachocki and to men like him in your midst. For it is from neighborhoods such as yours that this beloved country of ours derives its strength, its beliefs and hopes, its courage and its determination.

My congratulations also to John Pavin and the Greenpoint Volunteer Ambulance Corps upon the award presented here tonight.

May I also recall at this time that as Professor Kusielewicz has said it was your organization which 9 years ago bestowed its citizenship award upon my and your good friend Mish Cieplinski, now deputy assistant secretary of state for administration. The members of the Smolenski Democratic Club through exponents of American Polonia, persevere in the patriotic tradition of Pulaski, Kosciuszko, Karge, and Krzyzanowski, which helped to make America great and which continues to keep strong our national defenses.

This ideal, especially as it applies today, is particularly exemplified by the statements of President Johnson in referring to Vietnam in his message on the State of the Union which he delivered last Tuesday night before the joint session of Congress, which I attended. The President said: "We are in Vietnam because the United States of America and our allies are committed by the SEATO Treaty to 'Act to meet the common danger of aggression in Southeast Asia.'" "We are in Vietnam because an international agreement . . . of 1962 is being systematically violated by the Communists." "That violation threatens the independence of all the small nations . . . and perhaps the world." "We are there because the people of South Vietnam have as much right to remain non-Communist as North Vietnam has the right to remain Communist." "We have chosen to fight a limited war in Vietnam in an attempt to prevent a larger war—a war that is almost certain to follow . . . I believe that if the Communists are not checked now the world can expect to pay a greater price to check them later . . ."

I quote the President's words because I

know that you are in full accord with him on the problems concerning our national defense, and that you have given this National Administration your full and wholehearted support in this respect. I am also certain that you share the President's concern with the health of the Nation, especially as it applies to the needs of our senior citizens, about whom the President said: "We have brought medical care to older people that were unable to afford it. 3½ million Americans have already received treatment under medicare since July."

I am well aware of your full approval of the administration's proposed curb on fire arms and its program to combat crime, which the President underscored in these words: "Our country's laws must be respected, order must be maintained, and I will support with all the constitutional powers, the President possesses our nation's law enforcement officials in their attempt to control the crime and the violence that tear the fabric of our communities." Likewise, I am sure of your endorsement of the effort of the President and of the Congress to improve the quality of life for every American who, as the President said, is ". . . not just the rich, not just the poor, but every man, woman and child in this great nation of ours."

How extraordinarily well these quotations from the President's message on the state of the Union coincide with your own sentiments and with the program of your esteemed organization, the Smolenski Democratic Club of Brooklyn. While you are all patriotic Americans of the highest order, you are, in a more local sense, an integral part of Brooklyn and New York City, the beloved city of my birth and the city to which my father and mother came from Ireland almost eighty years ago. You and I are closely interwoven in that wonderful tapestry of American life. Together we continue to enhance this phenomenon and greatness that is marveled at by the world and which is "America the beautiful," "America the bountiful."

Finally, all these qualities of our country were made possible by the steadfast dedication to and belief in God by our forefathers and those who followed them. And therein lies the key to our national grandeur.

My sincere thanks to you on the honor bestowed upon me this evening.

REPORT TO THE PRESIDENT BY THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE, JOHN T. CONNOR, ON THE PROGRAMS AND PROGRESS OF THE DEPARTMENT

(Mr. MURPHY of New York (at the request of Mr. BEVILL) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. MURPHY of New York. Mr. Speaker, Secretary of Commerce John T. Connor has just completed more than 2 years of service to our Government in a most important and critical Cabinet position. Under his leadership, the Department of Commerce took vigorous action to meet the challenges of change and growth during a period of record prosperity and expansion for America. The Secretary has summarized the progress of the Department in a report to the President. I am happy to include this report and urge that it be carefully studied:

REPORT TO THE PRESIDENT BY SECRETARY OF COMMERCE JOHN T. CONNOR ON THE PRO- GRAMS AND PROGRESS OF THE DEPARTMENT

It has been my privilege to serve as Secretary of Commerce and a member of your Cabinet in a period of action and achieve-

90TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

S. J. RES. 29

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

FEBRUARY 6, 1967

Mr. McGEE (for himself and Mr. MILLER) introduced the following joint resolution; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry

JOINT RESOLUTION

Whereas the Congress has declared it to be the policy of the United States to combat hunger and malnutrition and to encourage economic development in the developing countries; and

Whereas two years of drought have caused a grave food shortage in India which threatens the lives and health of millions of people; and

Whereas the urgency of the need of the Indian people and the time needed for congressional deliberation have required the United States already to commit three million six hundred thousand tons of grain valued at \$275,000,000 as a part of the eight to ten million tons of grain estimated to be required during the calendar year 1967 from outside India to prevent irreparable hardship to the people of India, including \$25,-

000,000 emergency food relief for distribution by CARE and other American voluntary agencies; and

Whereas the programs of economic and agricultural development which have been launched by the Government of India would be seriously impaired if the international community failed to act promptly and on an adequate scale to meet the urgent needs of the people of India: Therefore be it

1 *Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives*

2 *of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

3 That the Congress approves the participation of the United

4 States in cooperation with other countries and with multi-

5 lateral organizations, including the International Bank for

6 Reconstruction and Development, the Organization for Eco-

7 nomic Cooperation and Development, the Food and Agricul-

8 tural Organization, and others, in urgent international efforts

9 designed to—

10 (a) develop a comprehensive self-help approach to

11 the war on hunger based on a fair sharing of the burden

12 among the nations of the world;

13 (b) encourage and assist the Government of India

14 in achieving food self-sufficiency; and

15 (c) help meet India's critical food and nutritional

16 needs by making available agricultural commodities or

17 other resources needed for food procurement or pro-

18 duction.

19 The Congress endorses the President's policy of equal

1 participation on the part of the United States with all other
2 nations, under terms and conditions set forth in Public Law
3 480, as amended, in assisting the Government of India to
4 meet these needs.

5 Further, the Congress recommends, on the basis of esti-
6 mates now available, that the United States provide an addi-
7 tional amount of food grain not to exceed three million tons
8 at an estimated cost of \$190,000,000 as the United States
9 share toward meeting the India food deficit, provided it is
10 appropriately matched, and specifically extends its support
11 to the allocation of approximately \$190,000,000 of funds
12 available to the Commodity Credit Corporation in calendar
13 year 1967 which will be required to accomplish this purpose.

14 The Congress further recommends that the President
15 provide an additional \$25,000,000 of emergency food relief
16 for distribution by CARE and other American voluntary
17 agencies.

90TH CONGRESS
1ST Session

S. J. RES. 29

JOINT RESOLUTION

To support emergency food assistance to India.

By Mr. McGee and Mr. Muller

FEBRUARY 6, 1967

Read twice and referred to the Committee on
Agriculture and Forestry

90TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. J. RES. 267

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

FEBRUARY 6, 1967

Mr. POAGE introduced the following joint resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture

JOINT RESOLUTION

To support emergency food assistance to India.

Whereas the Congress has declared it to be the policy of the United States to combat hunger and malnutrition and to encourage economic development in the developing countries; and

Whereas two years of drought have caused a grave food shortage in Indian which threatens the lives and health of millions of people; and

Whereas the urgency of the need of the Indian people and the time needed for congressional deliberation have required the United States already to commit three million six hundred thousand tons of grain valued at \$275,000,000 as a part of the eight to ten million tons of grain estimated to be required during the calendar year 1967 from outside India

to prevent irreparable hardship to the people of India, including \$25,000,000 emergency food relief for distribution by CARE and other American voluntary agencies; and

Whereas the programs of economic and agricultural development which have been launched by the Government of India would be seriously impaired if the international community failed to act promptly and on an adequate scale to meet the urgent needs of the people of India: Therefore be it

1 *Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives*
2 *of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*
3 That the Congress approves the participation of the United
4 States in cooperation with other countries and with multi-
5 lateral organizations, including the International Bank for
6 Reconstruction and Development, the Organization for Eco-
7 nomic Cooperation and Development, the Food and Agri-
8 cultural Organization, and others, in urgent international
9 efforts designed to—

10 (a) develop a comprehensive self-help approach
11 to the war on hunger based on a fair sharing of the
12 burden among the nations of the world;

13 (b) encourage and assist the Government of India
14 in achieving food self-sufficiency; and

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16 needs by making available agricultural commodities or

1 other resources needed for food procurement or pro-
2 duction.

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4 participation on the part of the United States with all other
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13 appropriately matched, and specifically extends its support
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15 available to the Commodity Credit Corporation in calendar
16 year 1967 which will be required to accomplish this purpose.

17 The Congress further recommends that the President pro-
18 vide an additional \$25,000,000 of emergency food relief for
19 distribution by CARE and other American voluntary
20 agencies.

JOINT RESOLUTION

To support emergency food assistance to India.

By Mr. Poage

FEBRUARY 6, 1967

Referred to the Committee on Agriculture

DIGEST of Congressional Proceedings

OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20250
OFFICIAL BUSINESS

POSTAGE AND FEES PAID
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE
FOR INFORMATION ONLY;
(TO BE QUOTED OR CITED)

Issued March 3, 1967
For actions of March 2, 1967
90th-1st; No. 33

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HIGHLIGHTS: House committee voted to report food for India bill.

SENATE

1. FOOD DISTRIBUTION. Received a GAO report on distribution of Government-donated food commodities in selected counties in Pa. p. S2943
2. PATENT LAWS. Sen. McClellan announced hearings on the revision of the patents laws by the Subcommittee on Patents, Trademarks, and Copyrights of the Judiciary Committee to be held on May 17 & 18. p. S2954

3. OLDER AMERICANS. Sen. Pell commended the proposed programs in the President's message on older Americans and urged enactment of his bills S. 193 and S. 194, to give relief to those persons relying on governmental pension systems. pp. S2963-4
4. CREDIT UNIONS. Sen. Sparkman inserted an explanation by CUNA International, Inc., of S. 1083, S. 1084, and S. 1085, to amend the Federal Credit Union Act. pp. S2965-7
5. FOREIGN TRADE. Sen. Burdick urged a stronger effort in the development of world markets for agricultural commodities and inserted several speeches supporting his position. pp. S2967-9
6. TEXTILE PRODUCTS. Sen. Morton praised the discussion of several Senators on Mar. 1 concerning problems facing the textile industry. He urged strong import controls for textile products and raw materials, and inserted several articles supporting his position. pp. S2982-3
7. NOMINATIONS. Confirmed several nominations including Ramsey Clark to be Attorney General and Gen. William F. McKee to be Administrator of the Federal Aviation Agency. p. S3012
8. LEGISLATIVE REORGANIZATION. Continued debate on S. 355, the proposed Legislative Reorganization Act of 1967. pp. S2974-81, S2983-94

HOUSE

9. FOOD FOR INDIA. The Agriculture Committee voted to report (but did not actually report) H. J. Res. 267, to provide emergency food assistance to India. p. D128
10. BUSINESS AND GOVERNMENT. Rep. Sikes inserted a speech, "Business and the Government Environment in 1967," in which industry and air pollution, water pollution, marketing practices, and packaging and labeling, are mentioned as "some of the more explosive issues now the subject of current agitation." pp. H2068-71
11. TEXTILE IMPORTS. Reps. Whitener and St. Germain expressed concern over "rise in textile imports." pp. H2072-5, H2105
12. RESEARCH. Rep. Ashbrook inserted an article, "The Great Research Boondoggle," which quotes biologist Dr. Paul A. Weiss as saying "excessive federal largess has encouraged 'shoddy, redundant, uncritical and ill-conceived research.'" pp. H2077-9
13. PARITY. Rep. Nelsen expressed concern over reports that the administration is "seeking to build support for a change in the formula by which farm parity is figured." pp. H2086-7
14. SALINE WATER. Rep. Hanna expressed pleasure over the report that Los Angeles has approved its participation in the construction of "the world's largest nuclear-powered desalting plant." pp. H2102-3

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Issued March 7, 1967
For actions of March 6, 1967
90th-1st; No. 35

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HIGHLIGHTS: House committee reported food for India bill. House passed bill to remove prohibition against transfer of unused Md. tobacco allotments.

HOUSE

1. FOOD FOR INDIA. The Agriculture Committee reported with amendments H. J. Res. 267, to support emergency food assistance to India (H. Rept. 67). p. H2177
Rep. Rarick inserted an article, "Plight of India--Socialism Has Proven More Destructive Than the Drought." pp. H2126-7
Rep. Ottinger inserted his testimony in support of the food for India bill. pp. H2166-7

2. TOBACCO. Passed without amendment H. J. Res. 273, to amend the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938, as amended, to remove the prohibition against the transfer of unused Maryland tobacco allotments. pp. H2142-3

The bill as passed would allow all Maryland tobacco growers (not just those who are exempt from the present limitation) to "lease and transfer their allotments subject to the other limitations in section 316, the most important of which are: 1. That both the lessor and the lessee must be located within the same county; 2. That no sales of allotments are permitted; only leases for 1 year (which may be annually renewed) are allowed; 3. That no lessee can accumulate more than 5 acres; 4. That the lessor retains all his acreage history and referendum voting rights; 5. That adjustments for yields will be made between the farms of the lessor and the lessee; and 6. That all leases must be filed with and approved by the county ASC committee."

3. WEIGHTS AND MEASURES. The Science and Astronautics Committee reported H. R. 313 to authorize the Secretary of Commerce to make a study to determine the advantages and disadvantages of increased use of the metric system in the U. S. (H. Rept. 33). p. H2177

4. COMMUNITY WORK. Both Houses received from the President a report on the "community and training program authorized by the Public Welfare Amendments of 1962" (H. Doc. 76); to House Ways and Means and Senate Finance Committees. He urged the Congress to extend and make permanent this program. pp. H2137, S3101

5. SELECTIVE SERVICE. Both Houses received from the President a message on selective service (H. Doc. 75) in which he made certain proposals "to assure that the system of selection operates as equitably as possible;" to Armed Services Committees. pp. H2137-41, S3097-3101

Rep. Albert commended the President's selective service message. pp. H2141-2

6. LOBBYING. Received the quarterly report on lobbying. pp. H2181-2210

7. AGRICULTURAL IMPORTS. Rep. Langen called attention to several "errors" in his remarks at the time he introduced a bill to "curtail skyrocketing agricultural imports" and inserted a corrected version. p. H2143

8. WATERWAYS. Rep. Rogers, Fla., inserted the remarks of Sen. Holland at the dedication ceremony of the West Coast Intercoastal Waterway in Fla. pp. H2128-9

9. CONSUMER AFFAIRS. Rep. Sullivan commended the appointment of Betty Furness as special assistant for consumer affairs and praised Mrs. Peterson "for one of the most effective performances of any official of Government in a most difficult position." p. H2166

10. EDUCATION. Rep. Fascell called vocational education a "sound investment of Federal moneys" and inserted an article on the subject. pp. H2170-2

11. FOOD STAMPS. Received from this Department a proposed bill to amend the Food Stamp Act of 1964 for the purpose of authorizing appropriations for fiscal years subsequent to the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967; to Agriculture Committee. p. H2176

EMERGENCY FOOD ASSISTANCE TO INDIA

MARCH 6, 1967.—Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed

Mr. POAGE, from the Committee on Agriculture, submitted the following

REPORT

[To accompany H.J. Res. 267]

The Committee on Agriculture, to whom was referred the joint resolution (H.J. Res. 267) to support emergency food assistance to India, having considered the same, report favorably thereon with amendments and recommend that the joint resolution do pass.

The amendments are as follows:

1. In the second paragraph of the preamble strike the word "Indian" and insert in lieu thereof the word "India".
2. In the third paragraph of the preamble strike the phrase ", including \$25,000,000 emergency food relief for distribution by CARE and other American voluntary agencies".
3. Page 2, lines 7 and 8, strike the word "Agricultural" and insert in lieu thereof the word "Agriculture".

BACKGROUND

Approximately 1 year ago the Congress passed and the President approved Public Law 89-406, which expressed the continued good will of the people of the United States toward the people of India at a time of perilous food need in that great nation.

That legislation expressed the sense of Congress that our Government should—

1. Help meet India's pressing food shortages, by making available to India under Public Law 480, agricultural commodities to meet India's normal import needs plus added quantities of agricultural commodities as the U.S. share in the international response to the Indian emergency;
2. Help combat malnutrition, especially in mothers and children, via a special program;

3. Encourage and assist those measures which the Government of India is planning to expand India's own agricultural production;

4. Join India in pressing on other nations the urgency of sharing appropriately in a truly international response to India's critical need; and

5. To the extent necessary distribute the food made available by the program to hungry people without money.

Later in 1966 the Congress passed and the President approved Public Law 89-808, the "Food for Peace Act of 1966" which revised and extended Public Law 480.

That legislation placed strong emphasis on the concept of "self-help" on the part of nations benefiting from Public Law 480, such as India and other developing nations, and it gave the President a new set of legislative tools to more effectively deal with the rising world food and population crisis.

Pursuant to these legislative mandates, the administration moved to meet the immediate food crisis in India, and the Secretary of Agriculture described these efforts during this year's hearing on House Joint Resolution 267, as follows:

In 1964-65 India produced a record 89 million tons of food grains—significantly above the stable 80-million-ton level of production that prevailed in the early 1960's. But in 1965-66 the monsoon rains were the poorest in nearly a century. Food-grain production fell to only 72 million tons. Crop failure was widespread and starvation was imminent.

India, with our help and with help from a number of other countries, mobilized to import a record amount of food grains and to make effective distribution of it. Altogether, India imported over 10 million tons. More than 8 million tons of this came from the United States—about four-fifths wheat and about one-fifth grain sorghums. We estimate that the food grains we provided supplied the daily grain rations for 60 million Indian people, about one-eighth of the entire population. Through considerable belt-tightening and effective distribution of available food, India was able to avoid famine with a substantially smaller total supply of grain than was available in earlier years.

Last year many people wondered whether it was possible to move such a large volume of grain out of the United States to India without disrupting normal transportation and marketing. The amount of grain imports required by India was well beyond the level that had ever moved through her ports and that had ever been distributed to her needy people.

The effectiveness with which the grain was moved and distributed is a tribute to a dedicated and coordinated effort that stretched from the wheatfields in the United States to the villages of India.

Here in the United States we were faced with a boxcar shortage, a frozen Great Lakes seaway, and crowded gulf coast port facilities. But through extraordinary measures we were able to maximize shipments from east coast ports.

The Department of Agriculture enlisted the cooperation of nine railroad companies to ship grain through the use of covered hopper unit trains. The covered hopper cars hold

nearly twice as much grain as a boxcar; load and unload faster; and lose less grain in transit. Unit trains of 50 cars made the complete round trip from Minneapolis to the east coast in 5 to 8 days, compared with 23 days for a train of boxcars.

A train of about 50 hopper cars hauled enough grain to provide a day's ration to 20 million Indian people.

Through the cooperation of American railroads and the Department of Agriculture a new railroading record was established. Railroad employees and officials were enthusiastic. As one official said,

"We have never before in the history of the railroad moved a trainload of grain from Minneapolis to Galveston or to the east coast and had our cars emptied and returned in 5 to 8 days."

The President's program was executed on a timely basis; the needed food grains reached India as programmed.

India, too, was faced with the need for receiving and distributing grain in greater volume than ever before. At her request we sent over a high-level team of experts to recommend a blueprint for action. Maximum Indian port capacity, prior to the survey by the team, had been 800,000 tons per month. As a result of the team's recommendations and initiatives by the Government of India, as much as 1.2 million tons of grain, in addition to other bulk commodities, per month were unloaded.

In combination with a stepped-up and highly efficient program of transportation and distribution, U.S. grain reached the people of India who needed it most in a timely and effective manner. Not only were the poor of India's cities provided with needed grain, but grain reached the thousands of villages with insufficient food. Numerous work projects were carried out and financed with U.S. grain. Our food assistance was not used by India as a dole. It was used to finance useful efforts such as building roads and improving irrigation systems.

The cooperation between India and America in this huge humanitarian effort was outstanding. The U.S. Government agencies involved worked together in an efficient, coordinated effort under an interagency Indian task force headed by Mr. C. R. Eskildsen, then Associate Administrator of the Foreign Agricultural Service, making a record of which we can be proud. In every way we lived up to our American tradition of helping a neighbor in need, and earned the gratitude which India has officially expressed.

A SECOND EFFORT NEEDED

Fortunately, timely action last year, principally by the United States with some aid from other nations, avoided a famine in India. Hopefully, everyone anticipated a substantial increase in India's food production this year. Unhappily, however, for the second year in a row, the forces of nature have dealt India's food output a serious setback. Continued drought in northern India has substantially cut crop production in that populous area of that nation of a half billion

people. Based on present estimates, India will again need to import about 10 million tons of grain in calendar year 1967.

In the absence of continued emergency food aid from abroad this year, many millions of Indians will again face the grim prospect of death and degradation by starvation and malnutrition.

PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE

In his special message to Congress on India food aid on February 2, 1967, the President announced the immediate allocation of 2 million more tons of grain to India under title I of Public Law 480 and recommended to Congress the policies enunciated in this legislation. Both House Joint Resolution 267, by Mr. Poage, and House Joint Resolution 262, by Mr. Dole, augment the President's message in regard to continued food aid to India. The full text of the President's message is as follows:

MESSAGE ON INDIA FOOD

I

To the Congress of the United States:

Last February I proposed that all mankind join in a war against man's oldest enemy: hunger.

Last March I proposed that the United States take part in an urgent international effort to help the Government of India stave off the threat of famine.

I address you today to report progress in organizing the war against hunger and to seek your counsel on steps still to be taken. For again this year, drought in India—as in other nations—underlines the cruel mathematics of hunger and calls for action.

The problem is immense. It cannot be solved unless each country reaches a considered judgment on the course to be pursued. *The greatest power on earth is the will of free peoples, expressed through the deliberative processes of their national assemblies.* I ask you today to take the lead in a vital act of democratic affirmation.

India is not alone in facing the specter of near famine. One-half of the world's people confront this same problem.

India's plight reminds us that our generation can no longer evade the growing imbalance between food production and population growth. India's experience teaches that something more must be done about it.

From our own experience and that of other countries, we know that something can be done. We know that an agricultural revolution is within the capacity of modern science.

We know that land can be made to produce much more food—enough food for the world's population, if reasonable population policies are pursued. Without some type of voluntary population program, however, the nations of the world, no matter how generous, will not be able to keep up with the food problem.

We know, too, that failure to act, and to act now, will multiply the human suffering and political unrest, not only

in our generation but in that of our children and their children.

The aim of the war against hunger is to help developing nations meet this challenge. It is the indispensable first step on the road to progress.

If we are to succeed, all nations—rich and poor alike—must join together and press the agricultural revolution with the same spirit, the same energy, and the same sense of urgency that they apply to their own national defense. Nothing less is consistent with the human values at stake.

Last year, many responded to India's emergency. Canada was particularly generous in sending food aid. Each member of the India Aid Consortium made a special effort to meet India's need. Nonmembers, Australia among others, also helped. The private contributions of the Italian and Dutch people were especially heartwarming. But the bleak facts require a sustained international effort on a greater scale. Today I propose that all nations make the new Indian emergency the occasion to start a continuing worldwide campaign against hunger.

II

The first obligation of the community of man is to provide food for all of its members. This obligation overrides political differences and differences in social systems.

No single nation or people can fulfill this common obligation. No nation should be expected to do so. Every country must participate to insure the future of all. Every country that makes a determined effort to achieve sufficiency in food will find our Government, our technical experts, and our people its enthusiastic partners. The United States is prepared to do its share.

In pursuing the war on hunger, the world must face up to stark new facts about food in our times.

Food is scarce. Nowhere is there a real surplus. Food aid must be allocated according to the same priorities that govern other development assistance.

Per capita food production in many parts of the less-developed world is not increasing. In some cases, it is even declining. This grim fact reflects both a rising curve of population and a lagging curve of agricultural production.

There is no substitute for self-help. The first responsibility of each nation is to supply the food its people needs. The war against hunger can only be won by the efforts of the developing nations themselves.

Food aid is a stopgap, not a permanent cure. It must be viewed as part of a nation's effort to achieve sufficiency in food, not as a substitute for it.

Agriculture must receive a much higher priority in development plans and programs. The developing nations can no longer take food supplies for granted, while they concentrate on industrial development alone, or spend vitally needed resources on unnecessary military equipment.

Agricultural development must be planned as part of a nation's overall economic and social program. Achieving a balance between population and resources is as important as achieving a balance between industrial and agricultural growth.

Fertilizer, seed, and pesticides must be provided in much greater quantities than ever before. Their use increases food production and permanently changes the productive capability of farmers. A ton of fertilizer properly used this year can mean several tons of grain next year.

All advanced nations—including those which import food—must share the burden of feeding the hungry and building their capacity to feed themselves.

The war on hunger is too big for governments alone. Victory cannot come unless businessmen, universities, foundations, voluntary agencies, and cooperatives join the battle.

Developing nations with food deficits must put more of their resources into voluntary family planning programs.

These are the facts your Government has been stressing throughout the world. Many of them are unpleasant. But our lives are pledged to the conviction that free people meet their responsibilities when they face the truth.

These facts draw into bold relief the two main thrusts in the offensive against hunger:

First, the hungry nations of the world must be helped to achieve the capacity to grow the food their people need or to buy what they cannot grow.

Second, until they can achieve this goal, the developed nations must help meet their needs by food shipments on generous terms.

The level of food aid will decline as self-help measures take hold. Until that point is reached, food aid is an inescapable duty of the world community.

III

During the past year the advanced nations have made progress in preparing the ground for the international war on hunger.

First, the pattern of international cooperation has steadily improved.

Last July we were pleased to act as host to a high-level meeting of the Development Assistance Committee of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development which focused primarily on the world food problem.

We encouraged greater contributions to the world food program by increasing our pledge to that program and by offering to match with commodities contributions in both cash and commodities from other countries.

We cosponsored a resolution in the United Nations that launched a U.N.-Food and Agriculture Organization study of whether and how to organize a multilateral food aid program of vastly larger proportions.

In the Kennedy round of trade negotiations, we have advanced a proposal to make available from all sources 10 million tons of food grains annually for food aid, to be supported by grain exporters and importers alike. This proposal is now being discussed in Geneva as part of an international cereals arrangement.

We are now participating in a study initiated by the Food and Agriculture Organization—in cooperation with the World Bank, the U.N. and the OECD—to examine how multilateral action might increase the availability and effective use of fertilizers and other materials needed to speed up agricultural production.

At the OECD ministerial meeting this fall, we advanced a proposal to develop an agricultural food fund to encourage private investment in the basic agricultural industries of the developing countries.

Second, the United States encouraged a multilateral response to last year's emergency in India.

The worst drought of the century threatened millions with starvation and countless more with disease born of malnutrition. As a result, I recommended, and you in the Congress, approved a program to send over 8 million tons of food grain to India. In an unprecedented display of common concern, governments, private organizations, and individuals in 42 other nations joined in providing \$180 million in food and other commodities to meet the needs of that country. Overall, India imported almost 11 million tons of grain and used several million tons from its own emergency food reserves.

The fact that India did not experience famine ranks among the proudest chapters in the history of international cooperation. But last year's effort—heartening as it was—was hasty and improvised. The world must organize its response to famine—both today and for the years ahead.

Third, this year's economic aid program makes agricultural development a primary objective.

The AID program which I will shortly send to the Congress, includes funds to finance imports of fertilizer, irrigation pumps, and other American equipment and know-how necessary to improve agriculture in the developing countries.

Fourth, I proposed and the Congress enacted far-reaching legislation which provides the strong foundation for the new food-for-freedom program.

The central theme of the program is self-help. The legislation authorized concessional sales of food to countries which prove their determination to expand their own food production.

IV

All of us know where the real battle is fought. Whatever the efforts in world capitals, the real tale is told on the land. It is the man behind the mule—or the bullock—or the water buffalo—who must be reached. Only his own government and his own people can reach him.

Thus, the most important progress of the past year has occurred in the developing countries themselves. And there is progress to report.

India—the largest consumer of food aid—perhaps provides the best example.

This has been a year of innovation in Indian agriculture. Agricultural development now has top priority in India's economic plan. Much remains to be done. But the evidence is unmistakable. India has started on the right path. India has:

- Imposed a food rationing system to make efficient use of existing supplies.

- Streamlined its transportation system to improve distribution.

- Increased prices paid to the farmer, thus providing new incentives to use fertilizer, improved seeds, and other modern materials.

- Begun large-scale operations with new varieties of rice introduced from Taiwan and with large quantities of high-yielding wheat seed imported from Mexico.

- Approved plans to increase public investment in agriculture by more than 100 percent during the new 5-year plan.

- Started to expand rural credit, improve water supply and accelerate the distribution of fertilizer to remote areas.

- Stepped up family planning.

- Negotiated an agreement for the first of several externally financed fertilizer plants to expand India's supply of home-produced fertilizers.

India is off to a good start. But it is only a start. As Indian officials have warned, hard work remains in reaching targets they have set and in improving cooperation among state governments. India's economic problems are enormous. But they can be solved.

What India has begun to do represents the growing realization in the developing world that long-term economic growth is dependent on growth in agriculture. Not every country has made an effort as great as India's. But in some countries, production has improved more rapidly.

Everywhere there is an air of change. No longer does industrial development alone attract the best minds and talents. Agriculture is now attracting the young and more enterprising economists, administrators and entrepreneurs in the developing world.

This is the best measure of progress in the war on hunger and the best assurance of success.

V

India's food problem requires a major commitment of our resources and those of other advanced countries. India's population is equal to that of 66 members of the United Nations.

Broad authority exists under our legislation for national action by Executive decision alone. But the issues presented here are of such moment, and on such a scale, as to make it important that we act together, as we do on other great issues, on the firm foundation of a joint resolution of Congress.

I ask you to support the broad approach we have proposed to the international community as a basic strategy for the war on hunger. That strategy rests on three essential principles:

1. *Self-help*.—The war on hunger can be won only by the determined efforts of the developing nations themselves. International aid can help them. But it can only help if they pursue well-conceived and well-executed long-range plans of their own.

2. *Multilateral participation*.—The assistance of the international community must be organized in a coalition of the advanced and the developing nations.

3. *Comprehensive planning*.—The international community must develop a comprehensive plan to assist India to fulfill its program of achieving food sufficiency, not only during this year, but for the next few years as well.

Most of you are familiar with the events of the past year. Drought limited India's food grain production to 72 million tons in the 1965-66 crop year, compared with a record 88 million tons the previous year. A massive international emergency program met the immediate crisis. But India had to use precious food reserves—that are thus not available to meet the shortages created by a second successive bad crop.

The weather since then has brought little relief. The general outlook is slightly improved, and overall production may reach 79 million tons this year. But late last summer a severe drought hit heavily populated areas in north-central India. Unless Indian production is supplemented by substantial imports—perhaps 10 million tons by present estimates for calendar year 1967—more than 70 million people will experience near famine.

The Government of India has already taken internal measures to move grain from its more fortunate areas to the drought areas. Imports of 2.3 million tons of grain are now in the pipeline to meet India's needs for the first 2 or 3 months of 1967. India has purchased some 200,000 tons of this grain with her own scarce foreign exchange. Canada with 185,000 tons, Australia with 150,000 tons, and the Soviet Union with 200,000 tons have already joined the United States with its 1.6 million tons, in an impressive multilateral effort to help.

India's immediate problem—and the world's problem—is to fill the remaining gap for the balance of this year.

Because these facts bear heavily on the extent of U.S. food shipments, I have requested and received careful verification from our Ambassador in New Delhi, from the Secretary of Agriculture, and from Members of Congress, who have recently been in India, including Senator McGee and Senator Moss.

I am particularly grateful to Representative Poage and Representative Dole and Senator Miller, who at my request made a special trip to India in December to assess the situation on the ground. Their careful and thorough analysis of the situation in India and their recommendations to me have been of great value.

During the last 2 weeks, the Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs and the Under Secretary of Agriculture have consulted in New Delhi and with most members of the World Bank's India consortium.

The work of all these men and the diplomatic efforts of the Government of India have laid the foundation for the steps we must now take.

The United States cannot—and should not—approach this problem alone or on an improvised basis. We must support the Indian Government's efforts to enlist the aid of other nations in developing a systematic and international approach to the problems of Indian agriculture. Our long-term objective is to help India achieve its goal of virtual self-sufficiency in grain by the early 1970's. Meanwhile, as part of that effort, we must help India meet its immediate food needs.

VI

In line with policies established by the Congress, and after promising consultations with the Government of India and other governments involved, I recommend the following steps to achieve these objectives:

First: Our basic policy is to approach the problem of Indian food through the India Aid Consortium organized under the chairmanship of the World Bank. That consortium has already developed a multilateral approach to economic assistance for India. Now, we propose to make food aid a part of that multilateral assistance program. We seek effective multilateral arrangements to integrate Indian food aid with broader programs of economic assistance and with capital and technical assistance for agricultural development.

In a preliminary way, we have consulted with the Government of India and with other members of the consortium. There is substantial agreement among consortium members on the major points of our proposal:

Meeting food needs of India during this emergency should be accepted as an international responsibility in which each nation should share;

Emergency food and food-related aid should be co-ordinated through the World Bank consortium;

This aid should not diminish the flow of resources for other development programs. It should be in addition to the targets for each country suggested by the World Bank.

Adding food aid to the responsibilities of the consortium is sound economics and fair burden sharing. The consortium provides a proper channel for the food and food-related aid of donors who have not previously been involved in the food

field. It will make clear that food provided from outside is as much a real contribution to Indian development as capital for specific projects or foreign exchange assistance for import programs.

Second: Should this program be established, we will support the Indian Consortium as it—

Undertakes a detailed projection of Indian food production and food aid requirements;

Prepares a program for nonfood imports required to meet food production targets, as the basis for determining the equitable share of each donor;

Reviews India's self-help efforts, reports regularly on progress and identifies areas for future concentration of energies.

Third: We must take prompt action to help India meet its emergency food needs. Our best present estimate is that India needs deliveries of 10 million tons of food grains this year or roughly \$725 million worth of food; 2.3 million tons, worth roughly \$185 million, are already in the pipeline from a number of countries, including our own. To keep food in the pipeline, I am making an immediate allocation of 2 million tons, worth nearly \$150 million, to tide India over while the Congress acts.

I recommend that Congress approve a commitment to share fully in the international effort to meet India's remaining food grain deficit of 5.7 million tons—worth about \$400 million. To that end, I recommend a U.S. allocation of an additional amount of food grain, not to exceed 3 million tons, provided it is appropriately matched by other countries. I recommend that approximately \$190 million available to the Commodity Credit Corporation in calendar 1967 be used for this purpose. These funds, if allotted, will have to be replenished by appropriation in fiscal 1968.

Fourth: I recommend your approval of an allocation of \$25 million in food commodities for distribution by CARE and other American voluntary agencies, to assist the Government of India in an emergency feeding program in the drought areas of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh.

Fifth: We hope other donors will accelerate their exports of fertilizers to India.

Unless the application of chemical fertilizers rises sharply in India, she will not be able to meet her food grain targets. Those fertilizer targets are ambitious, yet they must be met and, if possible, exceeded. Marshaling more fertilizer imports is as important to meeting India's emergency as gathering additional grain. India herself must take prompt steps to increase her fertilizer investment and production and improve its distribution.

Sixth: I propose for the longer run to continue encouraging U.S. private investors to participate in India's program to expand production of chemical fertilizers. We will urge other governments to encourage their own producers.

Seventh: We intend to pursue other initiatives in the broader context of world agricultural development:

We shall continue to press for multilateral efforts in every international forum in which we participate, including the current negotiations to establish a food aid program as part of an international cereals arrangement.

We shall continue our policy of encouraging private capital and technology to join the war on hunger.

We shall press for the creation of an investment guarantee fund by the OECD to encourage private investment in the agricultural industries of developing countries.

We shall make available to food deficit nations the technology our scientists have now developed for producing fish protein concentrate.

We shall look to the study by the President's Science Advisory Committee on the problems of food production to supply further and more definitive guidelines for near-term action and for long-range planning.

None of these steps can be as important as Indian resolve and Indian performance. The Indian Government is committed to a bold program of agricultural modernization. That program is the foundation for the entire international effort to help India. We believe that a self-reinforcing process of improvement is under way in India, affecting both agricultural techniques and government administration. On the basis of that conviction, we can move forward to do our share under the food-for-freedom program of 1966.

VII

I believe these proposals are in our national interest. I believe that they reflect the deepest purposes of our national spirit.

I am asking the Congress, and the American people, to join with me in this effort and in an appeal to all the nations of the world that can help. I am asking the Congress to consider thoroughly my recommendations and to render its judgment. The executive branch, this Nation and other nations will give full attention to the contributions that congressional debate may produce.

There are many legitimate claims on our resources. Some may question why we devote a substantial portion to a distant country.

The history of this century is ample reply. We have never stood idly by while famine or pestilence raged among any part of the human family. America would cease to be America if we walked by on the other side when confronted by such catastrophe.

The great lesson of our time is the interdependence of man. My predecessors and I have recognized this fact. All that we and other nations have sought to accomplish in behalf of world peace and economic growth would be for naught if the

advanced countries failed to help feed the hungry in their day of need.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *February 2, 1967.*

DETAILS OF RECENT AGREEMENT

On February 20, 1967, the U.S. Department of Agriculture announced the terms and conditions of the agreement with India which implemented the President's message of February 2, 1967, as follows:

[From Department of Agriculture, Washington, Feb. 20, 1967]

INDIA-UNITED STATES SIGN AGREEMENT TO IMPLEMENT PRESIDENT'S FOOD AID PLEDGE

The U.S. Department of Agriculture today announced the signing of an agreement between India and the United States under the new food-for-freedom program to provide India with 2 million tons of U.S. grain to meet its urgent food needs.

The agreement implements the offer made by President Johnson in his February 2 message to Congress on food aid to India. It is the first agreement to be signed under the new Public Law 480 legislation enacted last November 11.

Under the agreement signed for India by S. Jagannathan, Secretary, Department of Economic Affairs, Ministry of Finance, and for the United States by Ambassador Chester Bowles, India will receive 1.2 million tons of wheat, 800,000 tons of grain sorghum, and 30,000 tons each of soybean oil and tallow, valued at a total of \$135 million. India will pay for the supplies in rupees.

The wheat and grain sorghum made available under the new agreement, together with supplies available under earlier Public Law 480 agreements, will provide for the arrival in India during the first half of 1967 of 3.6 million tons of American food grains.

Twenty-two percent of the rupees generated by the sale of the commodities will be granted by the United States to the Government of India—12 percent for financing economic development projects and 10 percent for programs emphasizing maternal welfare, child health and nutrition, and family planning.

The agreement provides that 65 percent of the sales proceeds will be lent by the United States to the Government of India to finance economic development projects. Five percent will be reserved for loans to private firms in which there is joint Indian-American collaboration. The remaining 8 percent will be available for paying U.S. expenses in India.

In accordance with the "self-help" provision of the new food-for-peace law, India is giving high priority to planning for food self-sufficiency. Among the major targets of the Government of India for 1967-68 are—

(1) A 4-billion-rupee (\$533 million) investment in agriculture;

(2) Fertilizer production of 535,000 nutrient tons of nitrogen and 150,000 tons of phosphate;

(3) Fertilizer imports of 850,000 nutrient tons of nitrogen, 350,000 tons of phosphate, and 300,000 tons of potassium;

(4) A total of 15 million acres under new varieties of seed;

(5) 125 million acres sprayed for crop protection;

(6) Increase of 3 million acres in minor irrigation and concentration on use of irrigation for intensive production;

(7) An increase of 1 billion rupees (\$133 million) in government rural credit; and

(8) Increase of total commodity storage capacity by 1.35 million tons.

The Indian Government has also agreed to take the following actions: (1) timely announcement of price support levels to encourage greater production; (2) increase end-of-year Government grain stocks through price supports; (3) development of a national food distribution policy; and (4) accelerate domestic production capacity for fertilizer and other agricultural inputs.

The new agreement will bring the total of U.S. food grains supplied to India since 1951 to about 50 million tons, 47 million of which have been under the Public Law 480 program. Together with cotton, dairy products, and other agricultural commodities, the total value of Public Law 480 supplies to India now exceeds \$3.8 billion. Eighty-six percent of the rupees arising from the sale of these commodities is being utilized to finance Indian development projects.

India received somewhat more than 8 million tons of food aid from the United States in calendar 1966, and imported about 2 million tons from other suppliers, principally Canada, Australia, and the U.S.S.R.

HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 267

As approved by the committee, House Joint Resolution 267 recognizes (a) previous congressional policy to combat hunger and malnutrition and to encourage economic development in the developing countries, (b) the imminent drought-induced threat to the lives and health of millions of people in India, (c) the substantial contributions already made this year by the United States, and (d) the threat to economic and agricultural development in the absence of an international effort on an adequate scale to meet India's urgent needs. This resolution does not amend existing law, but it sets forth the sense of Congress that—

1. The Congress approves the participation of the United States in cooperation with other countries and with multilateral organizations, including the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development,

the Food and Agriculture Organization, and others, in urgent international efforts designed to—

(a) develop a comprehensive self-help approach to the war on hunger based on a fair sharing of the burden among the nations of the world;

(b) encourage and assist the Government of India in achieving food self-sufficiency;

(c) help meet India's critical food and nutritional needs by making available agricultural commodities or other resources needed for food procurement or production.

The committee realizes that in the long run the American people will simply be unable to assume alone the immense burden of India's ballooning population. The committee feels that India herself must shoulder the basic responsibility for feeding her own people. The committee also believes that the rest of the world shares at least an equal moral obligation with the United States in helping India through the current crisis.

2. The Congress endorses the President's policy of equal participation on the part of the United States with all other nations, under terms and conditions set forth in Public Law 480, as amended, in assisting the Government of India to meet these needs.

3. The Congress recommends, on the basis of estimates now available, that the United States provide an additional amount of food grain not to exceed 3 million tons at an estimated cost of \$190 million as the U.S. share toward meeting the India food deficit, provided it is appropriately matched, and specifically extends its support to the allocation of approximately \$190 million of funds available to the Commodity Credit Corporation in calendar year 1967 which will be required to accomplish this purpose.

In endorsing the stated Presidential policy and in submitting the proposed recommendation, the committee wishes to point out again that House Joint Resolution 267 is not amendatory of existing law and is not intended to be an irrevocable restriction on the power the President holds to meet the circumstances as they may exist in India in the months ahead. It is recommended that on the basis of estimates now available up to an additional 3 million tons of U.S. grain be furnished to India this year.

The committee also points out that under this resolution and under present law the contemplated additional grain shipments to India may be in the form of products and it urges the Secretary, utilizing his authority under Public Law 480, to make a reasonable amount available in product form.

The committee wishes to make it very clear, however, that the principle of equal sharing by other nations is both sound and desirable.

The committee also wishes to emphasize that in future agreements with India it expects all of the terms and conditions set forth in Public Law 480, as amended last year, to be fully and effectively implemented.

In this respect the committee wishes to point out that section 103(e) includes the requirement: “* * * that small business has adequate and fair opportunity to participate in sales made under the authority of this act.”

This language was approved by the House, remained unchanged in the conference between the House and the Senate, and was a part of the bill signed into law by the President.

In spite of this unanimity on the part of Congress, the Department of Agriculture has not yet implemented this provision of the 1966 act. Export of commodities under Public Law 480, as amended, is still being monopolized by a few big companies, some of them foreign-owned corporations.

The committee, therefore, feels that before shipments to India are undertaken pursuant to the recommendations of this resolution, the Department of Agriculture issue and put into effect regulations designed to carry out the provision of existing law to assure small business enterprise in the United States a "fair and adequate opportunity to participate in sales" as required by the 1966 amendments to Public Law 480.

The committee also wishes to emphasize once again the intent of section 109(a)(1) of Public Law 480, as amended last year, with respect to the production of food on cropland now devoted to nonfood crops in world surplus. India is presently growing some 20 million acres of cotton or nearly twice the acreage being grown in the United States. Yet, India's yields per acre are less than one-fourth of the yields in this country. Indian wheat productivity per acre on the other hand, runs about 45 percent of that in the United States. The committee has been informed by the Department of Agriculture on March 1, 1967, that "from a physical and scientific standpoint, one can therefore, conclude that virtually every acre of land now producing cotton could produce crops used for food or feed."

In view of the fact that this land can be used for growing food, the committee feels that India should utilize more of her tillable land for the production of food than for the production of nonfood crops which are in world surplus.

The United States, with our very large surplus of cotton, could easily supply India with any additional cotton she might need as a result of reducing her cotton production. This would be beneficial to both nations—India would grow more food, and the United States would reduce its cotton surplus.

AMOUNT OF FOOD AID TO INDIA

As stated in the Presidential message and by the Secretary of Agriculture during the hearings, India needs to import about 10 million tons of grain in calendar year 1967. It is estimated that 2.3 million tons are now in the pipeline to India. Of this 2.3 million tons, some 1.6 million tons is U.S. grain, with the remaining 700,000 tons coming from other sources. The President allocated another 2 million tons on February 2, 1967, and the formal agreement was signed on February 20, 1967.

That makes a total commitment at this time of 4.3 million tons, of which 3.6 million tons is from the United States.

If the United States provides up to an additional 3 million tons during the balance of calendar 1967, there will still be an estimated Indian deficit of approximately 2.7 million tons to be filled from other sources.

Stated another way, the total U.S. contribution to the 10-million-ton deficit in 1967 would be up to 6.6 million tons (1.6 million tons now in the pipeline plus 2 million tons allocated on February 2, 1967, plus up to 3 million tons pursuant to H.J. Res. 267). India would therefore be required to obtain at least 3.4 million tons else-

where. Since 700,000 tons from non-U.S. sources are now in the pipeline to India, she must therefore acquire some 2.7 million more tons elsewhere.

The following table shows the amount of United States and third-country aid to India during 1966 and 1967:

Food grain matching by other countries

	<i>Million ton</i>
Calendar year 1966:	
U.S. supplied.....	8.1
Other countries supplied.....	2.1
Total.....	10.2
Calendar year 1967:	
Food grain requirement to prevent famine in India as determined by World Bank, United States and Indian officials.....	10.0
U.S. allocations last year to be delivered in 1967.....	.7
U.S. allocated in 1967.....	.9
U.S. interim allocation pursuant to President's message of Feb. 2, 1967.....	2.0
U.S. proposed addition to be appropriately matched by other countries pursuant to H.J. Res. 267, up to.....	3.0
Proposed U.S. supply subtotal, up to.....	6.6
Additional food grain aid from other countries pledged to date:	
Canada.....	.18
Australia.....	.15
U.S.S.R.....	.20
Commercial purchases by India.....	.20
Expected additional contribution by other countries to multilateral food grain aid program.....	2.67
Other countries and Indian commercial purchases subtotal.....	3.40
SUMMARY	
Total proposed U.S. supply, up to.....	6.6
Total other country supply.....	3.4
Grand total.....	10.0

4. The Congress further recommends that the President provide an additional \$25 million of emergency food relief for distribution by CARE and other American voluntary agencies.

While the committee recommends that an additional \$25 million of emergency food relief be provided for distribution by CARE, Church World Service, Catholic World Service, and other American voluntary agencies, it wishes to make clear its intent that this resolution does not contemplate the allocation of two such grants and it has so amended the preamble of the resolution to reflect this intent. The committee also points out that the size of this program may, if the President so finds necessary, be increased.

HEARINGS

The committee held public hearings on House Joint Resolution 267 by Mr. Poage and House Joint Resolution 262 by Mr. Dole on February 28, March 1, and March 2, 1967. Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman; Under Secretary of State Eugene V. Rostow; and Herbert J. Waters, Assistant Administrator, War on Hunger, Agency for International Development, appeared in behalf of the adminis-

tration. Although some of the other witnesses suggested various amendments, none expressed outright opposition to this legislation.

Cost

As proposed, the resolution contemplates a total cost of \$490 million. Of this amount, \$275 million has already been committed, and \$190 million is the estimated cost for up to an additional 3 million tons of grain. The \$25 million voluntary agency program would be in addition to the other food aid already committed or contemplated for calendar year 1967.

COMMITTEE AMENDMENTS

The committee has adopted three amendments. Two of these correct typographical and grammatical errors. The third is to clarify the committee's intent that only one \$25 million voluntary agency program is contemplated and that the commodities in this program should not be exclusively limited to grains.



90TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. J. RES. 267

[Report No. 67]

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

FEBRUARY 6, 1967

Mr. POAGE introduced the following joint resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Agriculture

MARCH 6, 1967

Reported with amendments, committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, and ordered to be printed

[Omit the part struck through and insert the part printed in italic]

JOINT RESOLUTION

To support emergency food assistance to India.

Whereas the Congress has declared it to be the policy of the United States to combat hunger and malnutrition and to encourage economic development in the developing countries; and

Whereas two years of drought have caused a grave food shortage in ~~Indian~~ *India* which threatens the lives and health of millions of people; and

Whereas the urgency of the need of the Indian people and the time needed for congressional deliberation have required the United States already to commit three million six hundred thousand tons of grain valued at \$275,000,000 as a part of the eight to ten million tons of grain estimated to be required during the calendar year 1967 from outside

India to prevent irreparable hardship to the people of India, including \$25,000,000 emergency food relief for distribution by CARE and other American voluntary agencies; and

Whereas the programs of economic and agricultural development which have been launched by the Government of India would be seriously impaired if the international community failed to act promptly and on an adequate scale to meet the urgent needs of the people of India: Therefore be it

1 *Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives*
 2 *of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*
 3 That the Congress approves the participation of the United
 4 States in cooperation with other countries and with multi-
 5 lateral organizations, including the International Bank for
 6 Reconstruction and Development, the Organization for Eco-
 7 nomic Cooperation and Development, the Food and Agri-
 8 cultural Agriculture Organization, and others, in urgent inter-
 9 national efforts designed to—

10 (a) develop a comprehensive self-help approach
 11 to the war on hunger based on a fair sharing of the
 12 burden among the nations of the world;

13 (b) encourage and assist the Government of India
 14 in achieving food self-sufficiency; and

15 (c) help meet India's critical food and nutritional
 16 needs by making available agricultural commodities or

1 other resources needed for food procurement or pro-
2 duction.

3 The Congress endorses the President's policy of equal
4 participation on the part of the United States with all other
5 nations, under terms and conditions set forth in Public Law
6 480, as amended, in assisting the Government of India to
7 meet these needs.

8 Further, the Congress recommends, on the basis of esti-
9 mates now available, that the United States provide an addi-
10 tional amount of food grain not to exceed three million tons
11 at an estimated cost of \$190,000,000 as the United States
12 share toward meeting the India food deficit, provided it is
13 appropriately matched, and specifically extends its support
14 to the allocation of approximately \$190,000,000 of funds
15 available to the Commodity Credit Corporation in calendar
16 year 1967 which will be required to accomplish this purpose.

17 The Congress further recommends that the President
18 provide an additional \$25,000,000 of emergency food relief
19 for distribution by CARE and other American voluntary
20 agencies.

90TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. J. RES. 267

[Report No. 67]

JOINT RESOLUTION

To support emergency food assistance to India.

By Mr. POAGE

FEBRUARY 6, 1967

Referred to the Committee on Agriculture

MARCH 6, 1967

Reported with amendments, committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, and ordered to be printed

DIGEST of Congressional Proceedings

OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20250
OFFICIAL BUSINESS

POSTAGE AND FEES PAID
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE
(FOR INFORMATION ONLY;
NOT TO BE QUOTED OR CITED)

Issued March 8, 1967
For actions of March 7, 1967
90th-1st; No. 36

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HIGHLIGHTS: House committee granted rule for consideration of food for India bill. House subcommittee approved bill to modify rice acreage allotments. Senate passed legislative reorganization bill. Sen. Mondale introduced and discussed bill to authorize advance of wheat certificate payments.

SENATE

- 1. LEGISLATIVE REORGANIZATION.** Passed with amendments S. 355, the proposed Legislative Reorganization Act of 1967. At the end of this Digest is a summary of the bill. pp. S3264-90, S3292-3311
- 2. WHEAT.** Sen. Montoya defended USDA for alleged miscalculation in forecasting the 1966 world wheat crop. pp. S3263-4

3. AGRICULTURE 2000. Sen. Morse inserted Secretary Freeman's speech, "Agriculture 2000." pp. S3260-5
4. FARM LABOR. Sen. Murphy criticized the Secretary of Labor for the raise in minimum wage which Calif. farmers must offer in order to be eligible for foreign harvest labor. p. S3242
5. POLLUTION. Sen. Tydings inserted an article by Sen. Nelson, "The National Pollution Scandal." pp. S3238-41
Sen. Ribicoff commended the President's proposed air pollution program and inserted several articles on this subject. pp. S3241-2
6. FOOD. Sen. Bayh discussed and inserted an article, "Wide Malnutrition in United States Underscores Improved Diet Need." pp. S3219-21
7. EDUCATION. Sen. Javits criticized HEW for "cut-back in appropriated funds going to the States" for education. pp. S3217-8
Sen. Morse inserted articles on "Education Legislation in the 90th Congress" (pp. S3245-6) and "The Federal Investment In Higher Education" (pp. S3253-7).
8. WATER RESOURCES. Sen. Kuchel inserted several articles urging the regional development of the Colorado River. pp. S3213-4
9. ALASKA. Received from Commerce a proposed bill to authorize appropriations to carry out the activities of Federal Committees for Development Planning in Alaska; to Interior and Insular Affairs Committee. p. S3196
10. CCC. Received from this Department a report on orderly liquidation of stocks of agricultural commodities held by the CCC and the expansion of markets for surplus commodities. p. S3196

HOUSE

11. FOOD FOR INDIA. The Rules Committee reported a resolution for consideration of H. J. Res. 267, to support emergency food assistance for India (H. Rept. 72). p. H2256
12. RICE ALLOTMENTS. A subcommittee of the Agriculture Committee approved for full committee action H. J. Res. 263, to enable additional persons to obtain rice acreage allotments in certain circumstances. p. D144
13. EXECUTIVE REORGANIZATION. Rep. Haley recommended "reorganization and consolidation within the Federal Government to prevent the overlapping in the administration of existing Federal programs." pp. H2211-2
14. OCEANOGRAPHY RESEARCH. Rep. Rogers, Fla., inserted an article which called for, "A new 'rationale of budget making' to provide a proper balance between basic and applied research in the national oceanographic program." pp. H2214-5
15. WATER LOANS. Rep. Price, Ill., commended the Farmers Home Administration rural-communities water-systems loan program and inserted FHA Administrator Bertsch's speech on this subject. pp. H2218-9

CONSIDERATION OF HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 267

MARCH 7, 1967.—Referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed

Mr. YOUNG, from the Committee on Rules, submitted the following

REPORT

[To accompany H. Res. 365]

The Committee on Rules, having had under consideration House Resolution 365, report the same to the House with the recommendation that the resolution do pass.



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House Calendar No. 21

90TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. RES. 365

[Report No. 72]

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MARCH 7, 1967

Mr. YOUNG, from the Committee on Rules, reported the following resolution;
which was referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed

RESOLUTION

1 *Resolved*, That upon the adoption of this resolution it
2 shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the
3 Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union
4 for the consideration of the joint resolution (H.J. Res.
5 267) to support emergency food assistance to India. After
6 general debate, which shall be confined to the joint resolu-
7 tion, and shall continue not to exceed one hour, to be equally
8 divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minor-
9 ity member of the Committee on Agriculture, the joint
10 resolution shall be read for amendment under the five-
11 minute rule. At the conclusion of the consideration of the
12 joint resolution for amendment, the Committee shall rise and

1 report the joint resolution to the House with such amend-
2 ments as may have been adopted, and the previous question
3 shall be considered as ordered on the joint resolution and
4 amendments thereto to final passage without intervening
5 motion except one motion to recommit.

House Calendar No. 21

90TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. RES. 365

[Report No. 72]

RESOLUTION

Providing for consideration of H.J. Res. 267, a
joint resolution to support emergency food
assistance to India.

By Mr. YOUNG

MARCH 7, 1967

Referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be
printed

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OFFICE OF BUDGET AND FINANCE
(FOR INFORMATION ONLY;
TO BE QUOTED OR CITED)

Issued March 10, 1967
For actions of March 9, 1967
90th-1st; No. 38

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HIGHLIGHTS: House passed food for India bill.

SENATE

1. APPROPRIATIONS; COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS. The subcommittees of the Senate Appropriations Committee are listed on p. D154. The Agriculture subcommittee is as follows:
Holland (Chairman), Russell, Hayden, Hill, Stennis, McGee, Proxmire, Yarborough, Hruska, Young, Mundt, Javits. Ex Officio: Ellender, Eastland, Aiken.
2. DAIRY IMPORTS. Sen. Eastland spoke in favor of S. 612, proposed legislation to restrict dairy imports. pp. S3420-1

3. BUDGET. Sen. Miller discussed the increase in the 1968 budget and inserted an article "discussing Federal spending amounts not generally appreciated by the public." pp. S3421-2
4. FOREIGN TRADE. Sens. Miller and Symington urged that no concessions on imports of manufactured goods be made until trade restrictions on agricultural exports to the Common Market are substantially reduced, and inserted two articles on this subject. pp. S3422-4, S3440
Sen. Fulbright inserted a speech by Sen. Magnuson on East-West trade relations. pp. S3433-5
5. INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS. Sen. Javits spoke in favor of S. 799, proposed Comprehensive Planning and Coordination Act of 1967, and inserted a speech supporting this measure. pp. S3419-20
6. TEXTILE IMPORTS. Sen. Tower urged that action be taken to "restrain textile imports." pp. S3426-7
7. FARM LABOR. Sens. Holland and Aiken criticized the Secretary of Labor for the raise in minimum farm wage and stated, "this latest action is but another example of the Department of Labor taking over jurisdiction through arbitrary arrogant action that wholly disregards the expressed intent of Congress." pp. S3455-8

HOUSE

8. FOOD FOR INDIA. Passed, 311 to 63, with amendments, H. J. Res. 267, to support emergency food assistance to India. This measure supports U. S. participation in efforts to (1) develop a comprehensive self-help approach to the war on hunger based on a fair sharing of the burden among the nations, encourage and assist India in achieving food self-sufficiency, and (3) help meet India's food needs. It endorses the President's policy of equal participation by the U. S. with all other nations, under Public Law 480, in helping India meet these needs. It recommends that the U. S. provide additional food grain not to exceed 3,000,000 tons, if it is matched, and allocation of about \$190,000,000 of CCC funds for calendar year 1967 for this purpose. Recommends that the President provide \$25,000,000 additional of food relief for distribution by CARE, etc. In addition to committee amendments, agreed to an amendment by Rep. Findley providing, "Because uncertainty in connection with Public Law 480 transactions tends to depress market prices, it is the sense of Congress that, in carrying out this aid to India program, the administration should make announcements of intention, purchases and shipments of commodities on schedules and under circumstances which will protect and strengthen farm market prices to the maximum extent possible." pp. H2367-92, H2428-9, H2433
9. TAXATION. The Ways and Means Committee reported H. R. 1326, to amend the Internal Revenue Code relating to the excise tax on shells and cartridges (H. Rept. 113). p. H2537
Rep. Ruppe spoke against the Federal tax-sharing proposal. pp. H2510-11
10. TARIFF. Both Houses received the President's Reorganization Plan No. 2, to strengthen the U. S. Tariff Commission (H. Doc. 78); to Government Operations Committees. pp. H2365, S3405-6

\$409 million to \$462 million—in appropriations to support marine science activities. These funds will permit us to expand our efforts to understand the sea and develop its vast resources. They will enhance the capabilities of local government, universities, and private industry to join in this vital enterprise. They will enable us to support the important new efforts recommended by the National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development.

I urge the Congress to provide the necessary funds to support these important efforts.

In January, I appointed 19 distinguished Americans, including four Members of Congress, to serve as members and advisers of the Commission on Marine Science, Engineering, and Resources. This Commission will complement the activities of the National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development by providing impartial insights into the strengths and weaknesses of our marine science programs.

The Commission will be called upon to identify still more opportunities for a concerted public and private effort—to develop the resources of the sea through a creative and cooperative partnership of government, industry, and the academic community.

The depth of the sea is a new environment for man's exploration and development, just as crossing the West was a challenge in centuries past.

We shall encounter that environment with the same conviction and pioneering spirit that propelled ships from the Old to the New World.

We shall bring to the challenge of the ocean depths—as we have brought to the challenge of outer space—a determination to work with all nations to develop the seas for the benefit of mankind.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, March 9, 1967.

COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS—PERMISSION TO HAVE UNTIL MIDNIGHT SATURDAY TO FILE A REPORT ON THE BILL H.R. 5277

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs may have until midnight Saturday to file a report on the bill H.R. 5277, to amend the act of June 30, 1954, as amended, providing for the continuance of civil government for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, and for other purposes.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

CONSIDERATION OF HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 267

Mr. YOUNG. My Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 365 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

H. RES. 365

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the

Union for the consideration of the joint resolution (H.J. Res. 267) to support emergency food assistance to India. After general debate, which shall be confined to the joint resolution, and shall continue not to exceed one hour, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Agriculture, the joint resolution shall be read for amendment under the five-minute rule. At the conclusion of the consideration of the joint resolution for amendment, the Committee shall rise and report the joint resolution to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted, and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the joint resolution and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit.

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume, pending which I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. LATTA].

(Mr. YOUNG asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 365 provides an open rule with 1 hour of general debate for consideration of House Joint Resolution 267, a joint resolution to support emergency food assistance to India.

Approximately 1 year ago the Congress passed and the President approved Public Law 89-406, which expressed the continued good will of the people of the United States toward the people of India at a time of perilous food need in that nation.

That legislation expressed the sense of Congress that our Government should help India to meet her pressing food shortages and combat malnutrition.

Timely action last year, principally by the United States, with some aid from other nations, avoided a famine in India. Everyone anticipated a substantial increase in India's food production this year; however, for the second year in a row, continued drought in northern India has substantially cut crop production and dealt India's food output a serious setback. Based on present estimates, India will again need to import about 10 million tons of grain in calendar year 1967.

In the absence of continued emergency food aid from abroad this year, many millions of Indians will again face the grim prospect of death and degradation by starvation and malnutrition.

In the long run, of course, the American people will be unable to assume alone the burden of feeding India's ballooning population and India herself must shoulder the basic responsibility for feeding her own. However, it is recommended that, on the basis of estimates now available, up to an additional 3 million tons of U.S. grain be furnished to India this year.

House Joint Resolution 267 is not amendatory of existing law and is not intended to be an irrevocable restriction on the power the President holds to meet the circumstances as they may exist in India in the months ahead.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the adoption of House Resolution 365 in order that House Joint Resolution 267 may be considered.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. LATTA].

(Mr. LATTA asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. LATTA. Mr. Speaker, House Joint Resolution 267 recommends that the United States provide an additional supply of food grain to India in an amount not to exceed 3 million tons, at an estimated cost of \$190 million during the calendar year 1967, this to be appropriately matched by an equal amount contributed by other countries. The Joint Resolution further recommends that the President provide an additional \$25 million of emergency food relief for distribution by CARE and other American voluntary agencies.

The resolution is unnecessary. Current law gives the President authority to make this decision if he finds it in the national interest. What he has done, as one witness has said, is "to have the Congress sign the check with him." The language provides that "the Congress approves the participation of the United States" and others in urgent international efforts "to supply the food needed to avert famine."

Notwithstanding the fact that this resolution is not needed, I support it, as I believe it is a good idea for the President of the United States to let the Congress in on some of these agreements that are made outside of the country. This is one of them.

The joint resolution also has language calling for a self-help program by India. India has moved very slowly in the past, bogged down on such questions as to whether private industry or the State would own new fertilizer plants.

While I am speaking about India being bogged down, I believe some restraints—meaningful restraints—should be applied to its population explosion. But notwithstanding all this, I intend to support House Joint Resolution 267 for two very obvious reasons. First, I believe we should feed starving people; and second, I believe our American farmers will benefit by it.

Everyone knows the American farmer needs help. Our farmers are caught in a terrible cost-price squeeze and not too much is being done about it. Our commodity programs, requested by the administration and adopted by this Congress, are not due to expire until 1969. Even Secretary Orville Freeman has said he is "deeply concerned" about the cost-price squeeze of our farmers.

I refer to Mr. Freeman's remarks made just recently to a delegation of the Ohio Farmers Union while visiting him in his office. Mr. Freeman said:

With supply and demand in good balance, and with a long-term predictable farm act on the books, plus the food for freedom legislation of 1966, we possess most of the tools to do the job. We must demonstrate that this new freedom can work. We will demonstrate it.

The news report on this meeting goes on to say that:

Secretary Freeman said he was "deeply concerned" about a cost-price squeeze in rural America, which at the moment is driving down prices the farmers receive for their products and boosting prices they must pay for the things they buy.

After the last India wheat deal was consummated, the Department of Agri-

culture increased wheat acreage allotments by some 33 percent. Before the millers can mill any part of this additional 33 percent, every bushel—and I stress that, every bushel—must be represented by a wheat certificate purchased from the Government. The cooperating farmer gets no certificate payment for this additional 33 percent that he is now producing.

If the Department of Agriculture and this Congress really want to do something about farm income, they can give him certificates for this additional 33 percent that he is producing. According to the Crop Reporting Board of the USDA, the average price received by wheat farmers throughout the United States during February 1967 was only 58 percent of parity. I repeat, only 58 percent of parity. This is part of the reason the overall parity ratio has fallen to 74 percent for February 1967, one of the lowest points in the 34-year history of this Government statistic.

In fact, I believe I should take the time of this House now to report on some of the falling prices being received by our American farmer. I call your attention to a UPI story dated March 2, 1967. I am quoting from this:

Farm prices, steadily declining since last summer, have sagged even further.

Farm prices for the month ending Feb. 15 were 1 percent lower than the month before and nearly 7.4 percent lower than last August when the current decline began. The farm price level is now 7 percent below the level on Feb. 15 a year ago.

Another significant continuing decline was revealed in the latest farm price figures released by the Agriculture Department this week.

A comparison of prices farmers received and the cost of items they must buy showed that prices in mid-February averaged only 74 percent of the "fair earning power" parity level, the lowest level in two years and 8 percent below a year ago.

Parity is the price needed to put the value of products sold on par with the cost of things farmers must buy.

Sharp drops in egg prices, together with a decline in turkey prices and a seasonal reduction in dairy prices were blamed for the latest decrease.

The brightest spot in the farm price picture was an 11 percent increase in prices for broiler chickens and a 4 percent gain for upland cotton.

Most of the rest of the market picture continued dim. Livestock prices softened slightly during the month—

Since I am speaking of livestock prices, I might refer to a news item which appeared in our local newspaper, the title of which is: "Hog Prices Lowest in 2 Years." Returning to this article—

Livestock prices softened slightly during the month and the price index dropped 1 percent from a month earlier, down 15 percent from February 1966.

Prices for beef cattle averaged \$21.60 per hundredweight at mid-month, down 10 cents from January and a full dollar below a year ago. Hog prices averaged \$18.80 per hundredweight, 10 cents lower than January and \$8.40 below February 1966.

Prices of lambs were off \$1.80 during the month and sheep were down 14 cents. The feed grains and hay price index declined 1 percent during the month, chiefly as a result of a 2-cents-per-bushel drop in corn prices.

Despite all of this, our farmers are still being blamed for the high prices paid in retail outlets throughout the country. The facts simply do not bear this out, and our consumers should be made aware of it.

This week, the U.S. News & World Report, in its March 13, 1967, issue, cites some figures which should be spread across the Nation by everyone interested in seeing the American farmer get a fair shake in this price controversy. The item in the U.S. News & World Report reads:

Food cost as a percentage of family income available for spending is the lowest it has been since records were kept. The percentage is 16.4. Price trends are down at the farm. Farmers now get only 5.5 percent of the nation's disposable income. Others handling food get 10.9 percent.

These are figures which I believe the American public should be made well aware.

So in supporting this resolution, I hope I have directed some needed attention to the plight of the American farmer.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. LATTA. I am pleased to yield to the gentleman from Iowa.

Mr. GROSS. I should like to ask a question of someone on the committee, as to where the hearings on this bill may be found?

Mr. LATTA. I shall be glad to yield to the chairman of the Committee on Agriculture, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE].

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, I believe that the gentleman asked that of the staff this morning, and they told him they would be glad to send him the stenographic reports. Obviously, the hearings are not printed.

Mr. GROSS. I do not know anything about stenographic reports.

Mr. POAGE. Did they not offer to send the gentleman the stenographic reports of the hearings?

Mr. GROSS. The answer is emphatically "no."

Mr. POAGE. I will check that with the staff, because they told me they did offer to send the stenographic reports.

Mr. GROSS. The office said there were printed hearings. When I sent for them, I got back a copy of the report.

Mr. LATTA. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FINDLEY].

(Mr. FINDLEY asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, I, too, regret that printed hearings are not before this body, because, even though they are brief, they do contain some information and some comments on important questions raised during the course of the hearings. In my view, one of these questions is especially important, and quite obviously the printed answers that will eventually be available to Members of this body do not really answer the question at all.

During the committee hearings the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. DOLE], asked that some questions be answered

by Secretary Freeman in the RECORD. One of these questions was:

Do you anticipate any difficulty in enforcing the Findley amendment in Public Law 480 in regard to trade with North Vietnam and Cuba? Does the Administration make a distinction between commerce by governments and commerce by individuals or non-governmental institutions with Cuba and North Vietnam in the enforcement of the Findley amendment in Public Law 480?

Here is the answer, which I am told will eventually be in the printed hearings. This answer was supplied by Secretary Freeman, as follows:

It is anticipated that no difficulty will be encountered in enforcing the "Findley Amendment."

No case has yet arisen under the new PL 480 legislation that involves the question raised by the Findley Amendment with regard to the distinction between commerce by government and commerce by individuals or non-governmental institutions with Cuba and North Vietnam.

That is no answer whatever as to the attitude of the administration on this important question of distinction. It is no answer whatever. I think it is unfortunate that the Members of this body could not have seen this answer in advance and thus had in their own minds a very proper question about what the administration would do should it develop, for example, that private groups in India—and I have no reason to think this is the case, but suppose that private groups in India are being used as a front for sending some supplies to North Vietnam. This may not be as incredible as it seems on the face of it, but should this be determined to be the case, will the Findley amendment then disqualify India from further benefits under the Public Law 480 program? This is the question that Mr. DOLE sought to clarify when he placed it before Secretary Freeman. I would like to raise the question again at this point. If any members of the committee, on the majority or the minority side, would like to give their interpretation of this question of distinction, I would appreciate their comments at this point. To me it is a very important distinction. When I offered the amendment, I had in mind very clearly and very definitely disqualifying from certain benefits under Public Law 480 any country that permits shipping of any kind, either in its own vessels or in the vessels of other nations to go to North Vietnam. Yet, despite what I feel was a clear expression of intent of the Congress when the amendment was placed in the law, the administration, despite evidence that Yugoslavia had been making regular shipments to North Vietnam, contended that because the aid was being funneled through so-called private organizations within Yugoslavia, the Findley amendment did not apply and therefore benefits under Public Law 480 could be extended to Yugoslavia.

Now, Mr. Speaker, of recent date we have had some revelations showing that, due to CIA activities, private organizations long believed to be entirely non-governmental proved to be otherwise. It now appears that they have benefited

from some rather sizable gifts from the U.S. Treasury, funneled through the CIA.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ALBERT). The time of the gentleman from Illinois has expired.

Mr. LATTA. Mr. Speaker, I yield the gentleman 1 additional minute.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, if we can properly question the private character of some so-called private organizations in this country, we can just as properly question the private character of organizations elsewhere, organizations especially located in Communist countries.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FINDLEY. I shall be glad to yield to the gentleman from Kansas.

Mr. DOLE. Mr. Speaker, permit me to say, first of all, that I agree the response the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. FINDLEY] referred to is rather broad.

Mr. Speaker, I share the view which has been expressed by the gentleman from Illinois. However, I speak only for myself as a member of the House Committee on Agriculture. It is my firm belief the gentleman's amendment should apply to all governmental or nongovernmental unit which may be operating in any country.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, it is my opinion that we are making significant legislative history here in this respect. No one has challenged the intent of this amendment as I have interpreted, so I consider this establishes the intent of the Findley amendment to Public Law 480 as applying to private as well as governmental shipments.

Mr. LATTA. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the distinguished gentleman from Kansas [Mr. DOLE].

(Mr. DOLE asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. DOLE. Mr. Speaker, when the gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE], and I introduced the joint resolution to support emergency food assistance to India, we said in a joint statement that "India needs help and she must help herself."

This combination, in my opinion, is the key to India's survival.

We need to help, other countries need equally to help, and above all India needs to do the utmost to help herself.

This approach is set out in the President's February 2 message on India food and it is the approach that underlies our proposed joint resolution. It is a practical approach. I sincerely hope that the Congress will give its overwhelming endorsement to it.

There is no question, of course, that India has a continuing food emergency on her hands. When I was in India in December, food shortage was the subject you heard the most about. During this second year of India's crop failure, we must continue to help out with food shipments. We have made a big investment in India—through food aid and other forms of aid—and it would be unthinkable at this time to fail to protect all we have invested in her survival.

At the same time, it is neither desirable nor practical for the United States to bear the full weight of helping India

live through this crucial period of her history. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE], Senator MILLER, and I concluded during our trip to India—and we so recommended to the President—that other nations must step in and share the load.

It is not desirable or practical for us to try to bear the full weight for a couple of reasons. For one, it is too much of a burden on the American taxpayer. For another, it is far too great a responsibility for the people of one single nation to provide the food aid that keeps millions of people alive in another nation. A food problem as big as India's is a world problem; it has to be shared by all countries that are able to contribute. Furthermore, I am convinced that the multilateral approach is the most effective approach. It is the best way to do the job. This is why we particularly endorse the effort to insure that other advanced countries carry their appropriate share of the load.

In the long run, however, India's survival will depend not on what we and others do but on what she does for herself. She needs to vastly improve her food production through a comprehensive self-help approach—and here let me say that I am encouraged by what I observed during my trip to India and the reports that have come to my attention since.

It is no secret that for some time India was slow in recognizing the enormity of her food problem and in coming to grips with it. This state of mind has definitely changed for the better. I would like to quote from a statement the Indian Government issued on its new 5-year plan last December, in which the No. 1 emphasis was placed on the food and population program:

The main focus in the Fourth Plan is on redressing the imbalance arising from a high rate of population growth and inadequate expansion in agricultural production, particularly food production. The maximum possible effort will be devoted to acceleration of agricultural production on the one hand and nationwide implementation of population control programs on the other.

A short time ago the small newspaper issued by the Embassy of India here in Washington, called India News, said frankly that—

The grave food situation that stares us in the face has to be tackled on a war footing.

And the article went on to say:

Even greater hardship will have to be endured in 1967 than in the previous year. Renewed sacrifices may have to be made by all sections of the people in order to ensure food to everybody irrespective of the capacity to pay. Simultaneously, the whole nation has to engage itself with redoubled vigor in attaining self-reliance in food grains. Production should catch up with demand and imports should be dispensed with. This way alone lies a lasting solution to our recurrent food problem.

To these statements I would add that these are not just words. The leaders of India fully recognize India's extremely serious problem and they are taking a number of much-needed steps to cope with it.

It is going to take some time for India

to get her house in order. As she works at it, we and other countries need to lend a strong helping hand. We, along with others, need to supply food aid—hopefully, in decreasing amounts. We need to supply some of the strategic elements of production, such as fertilizer. We need to continue and in some cases expand our technical advisory services—giving India the benefit of our own excellent experiences and advancements. In this connection we should not hesitate to include new approaches where they appear to have promise, and I would include the program of farmer-to-farmer assistance that is provided for by section 406 of the recently revised Public Law 480 program. I hope that a constructive new approach will be developed under this authority.

In the program proposals that have been made to help India, we have the elements of practicality and reality, along with a warmhearted response by the American people to the need of their Indian friends.

The program needs to move ahead, and it can best do so with the combined support of the Congress and the administration. I strongly urge that we give it this needed support by endorsing the joint resolution as this House did a year ago on a similar resolution.

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. DOLE. I yield to the gentleman from New Hampshire.

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman spoke of the appropriate sharing by other countries. I call the gentleman's attention to the table on page 17 of the committee report indicating that Canada has given 0.18 of 1 million tons, Australia 0.15, and the U.S.S.R. 0.20, and expected additional contribution by other countries to multilateral food grain aid program, 2.67, or a total with Indian commercial purchases of only 3.4 million tons out of a total of 10 million tons.

How much of this multilateral food grain program, if the gentleman knows, is on a purchase basis, and how much is on a contribution basis by other countries?

Mr. DOLE. First let me discuss the country putting up most of it, and that is, of course, our country. Let me also point out that our country's 1966 contribution of food aid was about 8.1 million tons. We were hopeful it would be on a 50-50 basis for the entire calendar year 1967, but that does not now appear to be possible.

The report includes a table showing the amount of United States and third-country aid to India during 1966 and 1967. Let me answer your question by reading that report:

Food grain matching by other countries	
Calendar year 1966:	Million tons
U.S. supplied	8.1
Other countries supplied	2.1
Total	10.2
Calendar year 1967:	
Food grain requirement to prevent famine in India as determined by World Bank, United States, and Indian officials	10.0

Food grain matching by other countries—
Continued

Calendar year 1966—Continued <i>Million tons</i>	
U.S. allocations last year to be delivered in 1967-----	0.7
U.S. allocated in 1967-----	.9
U.S. interim allocation pursuant to President's message of Feb. 2, 1967-----	2.0
U.S. proposed addition to be appropriately matched by other countries pursuant to H.J. Res. 267, up to-----	3.0
Proposed U.S. supply subtotal, up to-----	6.6
Additional food grain aid from other countries pledged to date:	
Canada -----	.18
Australia -----	.15
U.S.S.R. -----	.20
Commercial purchases by India-----	.20
Expected additional contribution by other countries to multilateral food grain aid program-----	2.67
Other countries and Indian commercial purchase subtotal -----	3.40
SUMMARY	
Total proposed U.S. supply, up to----	6.6
Total other country supply-----	3.4
Grand total-----	10.0

Mr. WYMAN. Is not the fact of the matter that we are putting up almost all of this on a grant basis; is that true?

Mr. DOLE. Under the resolution it is my understanding we will sell, for rupees, 6.6 million tons, and the rest of the world will provide 3.4 million tons—though I am not certain what the consideration for this will be.

Mr. WYMAN. On that basis, even that which they are putting up is on a paid basis, while we are giving it to India.

Mr. DOLE. Very little is on a hard currency basis because India has very little money. They have purchased a small quantity from Australia because of the proximity of Australia, and their immediate need. But, disregarding all this, it is fundamentally a question of whether India is going to have or not have starvation.

Mr. LATTA. Mr. Speaker, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. GOODLING].

(Mr. GOODLING asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, in 1843, the English poet Robert Browning wrote a novel poem about a piper who charmed the rats away from Hamelin town with his musical pipe. We need the services of one with such a unique profession today, for the United States could put him to work in India in the interests of mankind.

Although it is only an estimate, Mr. Speaker, we are told by those bold enough even to try to estimate the rat population of India that it is as high as 5 billion—roughly 10 times the human population of that country.

This teeming population of rodents eats up to around 10 or 12 percent of the annual grain crop in India, a volume approaching 8 million tons.

At the same time, we are told that India currently has a 10-million-ton food deficit, and this means that, as a rough

estimate, rats are eating just about four-fifths of India's food deficit.

In other words, we are viewing the sorry spectacle where, in India, rats are growing fat while men, women, and children are going hungry.

This raises the very serious question as to what is being done to control the population explosion of rats in India, for America is planning to send millions of tons of grain to India this year in order to relieve the hunger that is ravishing that drought-stricken land.

Ganda Singh, Minister of Agriculture in Uttar Pradesh State, India, has suggested a solution that is revolting and highly offensive by American standards. His suggestion is that rats might be destroyed and, at the same time, the food supply could be increased if the people of India were to eat the rats, which are said to be rich in protein.

When Secretary of Agriculture Freeman was before the House Committee on Agriculture, I inquired of him what controls were in effect for rodents in India. The Secretary's response was quite general and vague, failing to give me any positive assurance that an effective rodent control program was in effect in India.

The Secretary also assured me that the destruction that was occurring to grains via rats in India was happening to Indian grains and not to those grains that were being shipped to India by America. Frankly—as I informed him—I do not think it is of any consequence whether it is American or Indian grain going into the bellies of rodents—the important thing is that the grain is not going into the stomachs of humans, and the deficit—no matter in what area it is occurring—is being met, in one degree or another, by American grants of grain.

Mr. Speaker, I think it is highly imperative that for the legislative record, either the Secretary of State or the Secretary of Agriculture—or both—should file with the appropriate committees of the Congress a thorough and comprehensive report on whatever rodent control program currently is in effect in India. Such a report should be submitted immediately and before the legislation presently before this body is acted upon by the Senate.

This would be in the taxpayer's interest, Mr. Speaker, because, after all, he is the one that is going to pick up the tab on the costs of this program of grain gifts to India. The 10-million-ton food deficit that is India's has a value estimated to be in the vicinity of \$725 million, and it is well recognized that America is going to supply a good quantity of this deficit. While there is a humane consideration involved in all of this, there should be no thought on privilege for rodents—the American taxpayer is already filling too many ratholes.

My only concern is that I do not want to see the American citizen trapped in a situation where his tax money is being used to keep rats rather than people. Let us not have the rats of India pull a reverse Pied Piper of Hamelin on the taxpayers of America.

Mr. Speaker, I insert at this point in the RECORD a pertinent editorial from

the February 21, 1967, issue of the Chicago Tribune entitled "Food for Peace—Or Food for Rats?"

FOOD FOR PEACE—OR FOOD FOR RATS?

President Johnson recently proposed a 10-nation consortium under chairmanship of the World Bank to help supply India's continuing critical need for food. He estimated the cost of filling that country's 10 million ton food deficit at 725 million dollars. Our own once vast food surpluses have been depleted to the point where we must ask other developed countries to increase their food aid, but even so we plan to send 6.6 million tons of grain to India this year under the food for peace program.

Of more than passing interest, then, are some remarks which P. C. Sen, chief minister of West Bengal state, made the other day at a Calcutta conference on rodent control. He appealed to his countrymen, millions of whom are hungry if not near starvation, to destroy hundreds of millions of rats that are ravaging India's inadequate grain supplies. Estimates place India's rat population as high as 5 billion, or 10 times the human population, and grain losses at up to 10 to 12 per cent of the annual crop, or more than 8 million tons.

"Rats should not be allowed to fatten while men go hungry," Sen said. While to western minds this should be so obvious that it need not to be stated, the problem is considerably more complex in India, where an exaggerated respect for animal life is so widespread that the idea of killing even rats is offensive to large numbers of people. Perhaps that is why Sen suggested the rats could be reduced by catching them and injecting them with hormones to space out their litters or by feeding them vitamin-deficient food to impair their fertility.

He did suggest, however, the rats also could be gassed in their holes. Genda Singh, minister of agriculture in Uttar Pradesh state, suggested the rats could be destroyed and the food supply increased at the same time when he appealed to his countrymen to eat rats, which he said are rich in protein.

India's problems of food shortages and rats certainly are not new. We in this country continue to hear disturbing reports that the Indian government is unable or unwilling to move some of the bumper crops in its southern states to the northern drought stricken areas, that it has been preoccupied with the recent election campaign while food problems are neglected, that government red tape has kept the agricultural economy on dead center, and so on.

What is new is that the United States no longer is in a position to supply India with virtually unlimited supplies of food, and there is serious question whether other countries can or will make up the deficit. Up to now our efforts to encourage Indian leaders to increase their own food production seem to have brought few more tangible results than displays of pique and criticism in New Delhi over what the Indians regard as "pressure" to get them to change some of their policies. Our government denies using pressure, but it would like India to grant concessions to foreign investors in the fertilizer industry, lift some strangling controls on the economy, liberalize imports, and take other steps to increase its food supply.

The fact is that world food supplies are failing to keep pace with the alarming increase in world population. Under these circumstances, and with rats eating the equivalent of four-fifths of India's food deficit, the Indian leaders ought to wake up to the fact that the developed countries cannot long continue to pour food down ratholes.

Mr. LATTA. Mr. Speaker, I yield the balance of my time to the gentleman from North Dakota [Mr. ANDREWS].

Mr. ANDREWS of North Dakota. Mr. Speaker, quite frankly the grain shipments to India proposed in this legislation are very late and far too little. The need for food in India today is greater than it has ever been and the President by withholding relief shipments several months ago, has made the problem even more acute than usual. For this reason, I object strenuously to the limitation that the President has requested in this resolution which provides that further shipments shall not exceed 3 million tons of grain. This limitation represents a cut of 2 million tons from last year.

I would like to remind my colleagues that Congress, in passing the Food for Peace Act of 1966, already provided the President with the necessary authority to ship more than \$7.4 billion worth of grain to needy countries throughout the world during 1967 and 1968.

There is, therefore, no need for this resolution, which will only serve to ratify the President's failure to adequately utilize the Food for Peace Act. Many of us feel that he is making a grave mistake in limiting this food that can be used far better than bullets and bayonets in our efforts toward gaining peace and understanding in the world. We certainly need not limit shipments of wheat for fear of a shortage in this country.

Last year our domestic consumption accounted for only about 45 percent of the wheat produced in the United States. With the increased acreage allotments instituted by the Department of Agriculture for this crop year, domestic consumption should take only about one-third of the wheat produced, leaving a huge quantity available for export. It should be noted that exports of wheat in the food-for-peace program can be doubled for less than 2 percent of the amount of the funds we are using for the military side of our budget.

Wheat farmers are not guaranteed more than the \$1.25 per bushel support price on this wheat which is not consumed domestically, and, as a result, unless markets are provided for this increased production, wheat prices will probably dip to the support level.

No farmer can survive producing wheat for \$1.25 per bushel, and if he does not receive more than this, we may find ourselves without the production that is needed, because farmers in my part of the Nation simply cannot afford to plant these extra acreages, even though they may be needed, if they continue to lose money on the wheat produced. Our farmers must know whether this wheat is to be used or if it will serve as a price-depressing surplus.

You can see, therefore, that both the hungry people of India and the American wheat farmers will suffer from this unreasonable restriction. The entire world, too, will share in the resulting risk of further unrest and revolution by its undernourished millions because of the administration's failure to make use of our food production capability as a positive weapon for peace.

Mr. Speaker, while the people of India and many underdeveloped countries of the world are starving, the American farmer stands ready and willing to make

a major contribution to world peace and American good will abroad by producing needed food. The Congress has already provided the machinery to accomplish this most worthwhile purpose. It makes no sense at all to now seriously restrict and frustrate that goal.

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. ANDREWS of North Dakota. I am glad to yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. OTTINGER. I congratulate the gentleman on a very fine statement. I share his reservations with respect to the limitations contained in the resolution. I am concerned that we not retard a very important task, which is to see to it that the great democracy in the East, India, and its very fine people do not suffer mass starvation.

From the point of view of clarification of the record, however, I would like to point out that the limitations are stated to be "on the basis of estimates now available." So that it is my understanding we would not be freezing ourselves to an absolute limitation of 3 million tons.

Mr. ANDREWS of North Dakota. I certainly hope not. I hope, as the gentleman from New York does, that the President is not looking for Congress to serve as a fall guy in passing this resolution, so that later, when his policy of restricting the food-for-peace program brings the trouble it may bring around the world, he will be able to point the finger at us and say that we were responsible for this short sightedness.

I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. LATTA. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. YOUNG. I yield to the gentleman from Ohio.

(Mr. MIZE (at the request of Mr. LATTA) was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.)

Mr. MIZE. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join with those who support House Joint Resolution 267. In doing so, I emphasize the position which I took on the floor of the House on February 6 when I spoke out in favor of giving special attention to India's food crisis.

Mr. Speaker, the report on the resolution, the statements of our colleagues who have visited India and who have seen for themselves the extent of the food shortage, the pictures in the news magazines of the undernourished children and the dying cattle—all of these give ample testimony to the gravity of the problem which millions of people face in that far-off land.

We cannot turn our backs on those who are starving and undernourished. We have an obligation to take the leadership in meeting as much of this critical need as we can. In responding quickly and generously we encourage other nations to come forward with their own contributions to share in a burden which is not the responsibility of any one nation—it is the responsibility of all nations of good will to participate according to their means and their capabilities.

But all of us have a responsibility beyond this present crisis. To put India in a position where it can meet emergen-

cies of this type in the future, we must take a hand in teaching them to help themselves, in controlling their population, in conserving their resources, in increasing food production through the application of methods we know are effective and in a greater recognition of the necessity for self-reliance.

We must be prepared, I feel, to keep our helping hand extended as long as it is needed because India will not solve its tremendous problems overnight. Months, years, and probably decades will be involved, and we are the one nation in the world which can be depended upon to recognize its commitments and to honor them.

Recently I read an article in U.S. News & World Report on the subject, "Why America Carries the World's Burden." I commend this article to my colleagues. It will give each of you new pride in the important role we play in the world. Let me quote this paragraph:

Yet every indication is that this country, as the one great power among nations, will be unable to escape any part of its present role. The scope of that role, instead, is expected to increase, rather than diminish as an era of development opens in large areas of Asia.

And apropos to the resolution we are debating today:

American farmers are called upon not only to feed the American people but also to provide food in important quantity for hungry people in other parts of the world.

Mr. Speaker, I respectfully urge the adoption of this resolution as evidence that America recognizes its role and that it is prepared to carry its share of the burden.

(Mr. BROOMFIELD (at the request of Mr. LATTA) was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD.)

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of House Resolution 267, to provide emergency food assistance to India.

It is sadly paradoxical that the lives and health of millions in India are threatened by a grave food shortage while we in America are still paying some of our farmers to leave their fields uncultivated.

But the answer, unfortunately, does not lie in that paradox. With one-half of the world's people facing the prospect of famine, no nation can hope to permanently fulfill the food needs of any other.

What we and other prosperous nations can do is to help developing countries in their efforts to find their own answers to their own problems.

That is what this resolution proposes to do. For India is on the verge of a major breakthrough in agriculture—a breakthrough that has been obscured by the droughts of the last 2 years.

A rural revolution is well underway in India, spurred by ambitious programs to encourage use of new agricultural techniques on the one hand and an intensified and far-reaching effort to promote birth control on the other.

New kinds of seeds and new methods of irrigation and fertilization have sparked major changes in India's 500,000

rural villages—changes thought impossible of attainment just a few years ago.

For the first time in history, India's farmers are motivated not just to produce for their families but are adjusting their sights to urban markets far from their villages.

And while the path to increased food production is being smoothed, ambitious targets have been set to cut the country's population growth rate in half during the next 10 years.

The Union Ministry of Health has been reorganized and renamed the Ministry of Health and Family Planning and a variety of new birth control programs have been launched.

Despite its vast population, India already is budgeting more money per capita for birth control than any other nation.

Religious opposition has been slight, and it appears to be mainly a matter of time before the results of the program begin to take effect.

If the Indian Government continues its energetic sponsorship of these two programs, India hopefully will have attained agricultural self-sufficiency by the mid-1970's.

Unfortunately, nature has been harsh to India's present and future. For the second year in a row, millions of Indians face the grim prospect of death and degradation by starvation and malnutrition.

Failure of the monsoon rains for the second consecutive year also threatens to slow the long-range program of self-help.

The U.S. Department of Agriculture estimates India will require about 10 million tons of grain from abroad to prevent this from happening this year.

The United States already is committed to supplying 3.6 million tons and another 700,000 tons are in the pipeline to India from other sources.

House Joint Resolution 267 would authorize the United States to provide another 3 million tons, increasing our total commitment this year to 6.6 million tons.

The United States cannot be expected to provide all of the help by itself. In past years, members of the India Aid Consortium, Canada and Australia, have also offered assistance along with private contributions from the Italians and the Dutch.

We must support the Indian Government's efforts again this year to enlist the aid of other nations in helping India solve her agricultural problems.

With this sort of temporary assistance, we can help India move toward agricultural self-sufficiency during the next decade.

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ALBERT). The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of

House Joint Resolution 267 to support emergency food assistance to India.

The motion was agreed to.

IN THE COMMITTEE OF THE WHOLE

Accordingly, the Committee resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of House Joint Resolution 267, with Mr. MONAGAN in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the joint resolution.

By unanimous consent, the first reading of the joint resolution was dispensed with.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE] will be recognized for 30 minutes, and the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. BELCHER] will be recognized for 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 5 minutes.

Mr. Chairman, before I proceed, I would like to compliment two of the preceding speakers who, in my judgment, made especially splendid presentations. I believe the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. DOLE], a member of the Agriculture Committee, made as clear and cogent an explanation of this resolution as it has been my privilege to hear. I believe the former member of the Agriculture Committee, the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. LATTI], gave a very fine discussion of the present low level of agricultural prices and the danger that is involved in a continuation of such a low level of agricultural prices. I pay tribute to both of those gentlemen for their excellent discussion of these subjects.

I do not believe it is necessary to take much of the time of the House to review the resolution. This is a resolution; it is not a bill. This does not change the statutory law. It does, as has been explained, express the will of the House that the President continue with the aid to India program on a rather modest basis.

I recognize there are those who feel, as has been expressed in the debate on the rule, that we are not going far enough, that we are not committing ourselves to supply India with enough food. It was on that basis that the last speaker and the gentleman who questioned him based their objections. I respect their feeling although I cannot embrace it.

Of course, I recognize that, on the other side, there are those who very sincerely feel that we should make no effort to assist the Indians or any others who they feel may not hold the views which we hold on some very vital matters.

I must confess that from time to time certain officials in India have expressed themselves in a way that has made it hard indeed for me to feel that we should continue to give them any aid. But when I see—and I did have an opportunity to see—the starving masses in India, and when I have the information which is available to all of the Members of the House relative to the tragic situation which exists in India today, I cannot find it in my heart to say that because certain of the politicians of India—which is a country with more than twice the population and probably four times the politi-

cians of the United States—have seen fit to be what seems to me unduly critical of the United States, that I should be a participant in the effort to deny food to those people, who have done nothing to offend our country—and that is about 475 million of the 480 million people of India. No I cannot find it in my heart to say that those people should be allowed to starve, or that we should do nothing for them because certain leaders in India have been unfair and unduly critical.

What those politicians in India are doing is, of course, what politicians in the United States have long done. I can remember—and many of the Members can remember—when a mayor of one of the great cities of the United States retained his control over his city for a great many years simply by, as he said, “twisting the lion's tail.” He condemned King George III of Great Britain and pointed out what a menace he was to the freedom of the people of the United States, and for a long time that mayor was reelected and reelected on the basis that he was protecting his people from this great King George III across the seas.

Some of my friends across the Rio Grande have engaged in that same sort of thing for a long time. They point to the “colossus of the north” and to what a great danger these people to the north of them are, and they condemn the Yankees, and they get elected time and again as a result.

Those politicians in India are doing exactly the same thing. Since the United States has become the recognized leader of the world, we are going to have to accept the fact that all over the world local politicians are going to be critical of the United States. That is true not only for India but also for all parts of the world.

I believe we must have a little understanding. We must look at these things from a practical standpoint and recognize that the cruel and crude expressions of some of the Indian politicians have not been an expression of the people of India. We have to forgive those statements.

In spite of, not because of, that kind of attitude we have to go ahead and help people who are really in need.

The President has the power, as has been stated, to enter into agreements under Public Law 480 which might extend aid to India in the future and without limit as to amount. But the President has recognized, and I believe properly, that this is a matter of tremendous importance, that it is a matter on which the representatives of the American people should be taken into consideration. He has therefore asked, in effect, the advice and consent of the Congress of the United States to proceed with an additional aid-to-India program.

He has suggested, and I believe wisely, that such a program be circumscribed so that we would require participation on the part of other nations of the world, and we provide for that participation on the part of other nations of the world.

The President has suggested, and I believe very wisely, that we call upon the Indians to do substantially more than they have done in regard to helping

themselves. I believe that is wise and that it is proper. We do call on the Indians to do more for themselves.

That kind of self-help could take a great many forms. One form is that they could put more of their land into the production of food. I do not know the acreage of all nonfood crops in India, but I happen to be a little more familiar with cotton, and I happen to know that there are 20 million acres of cotton in India, which is almost twice as much as there was in the United States last year. I know they do not need to grow that much. I know they could grow food on that land. Of course, we could supply them with cotton much more easily than with food.

I believe that people who are hungry ought to cooperate with the people who are willing to help them. I believe that India ought to do more for herself. I believe that the people of India are surely willing to reduce their cotton acreage by at least as much as American cotton farmers cut their own acreage last year, which was approximately 28 percent.

The gentleman suggested a few moments ago that India was plagued with rats. I presume she is. It is true that the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. DOLE] and the Senator from Iowa [Mr. MILLER] and I visited over a large part of India last December. I did not see rat one.

Of course, I believe one could go on my farm down in McLennan County, Tex., and probably he would not see any rats, but I know there are rats there. I know they are all over the United States. I know we ourselves are suffering very substantial losses to rodents.

I certainly would agree with the suggestions that India ought to do more toward eliminating the rat plague and all other plagues.

When it comes to the final analysis, the question is, are we going to help these people avoid starvation? And they are starving. Some of the Members have seen the recent issue of Time magazine, showing some of the starving babies and showing some of the dying sacred cows.

There is no doubt that the cow problem is a serious problem in India, but I do not think that you and I are going to be able to solve it. You will not be able to get people to change their religious convictions so easily simply by passing a resolution, and this is a religious problem there. You will not change it simply by condemning it. It is unfortunate, but it makes the whole problem more difficult.

So, Mr. Chairman, I think we have come to the House with a very reasonable resolution and one which provides aid for India and insists that other nations of the world participate in that aid and one which calls upon India to help to contribute a larger share of self-production rather than calling on us for more aid.

I hope that the resolution will be approved by a substantial vote.

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 8 minutes to the gentleman from Texas [Mr. PRICE].

(Mr. PRICE of Texas asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Chairman, in approaching the debate on this resolution, I think we all recognize that the nature of the resolution is such that it does not amend existing law. I would like to specifically point out in the committee report on page 14, the sentence that states that "this resolution does not amend existing law, but it sets forth the sense of Congress that," and then goes on to cite the four main points in the resolution.

I would also point out on page 15 of the committee report the following sentence:

In endorsing the stated Presidential policy and in submitting the proposed recommendation, the committee wishes to point out again that House Joint Resolution 267 is not amendatory of existing law and is not intended to be an irrevocable restriction on the power the President holds to meet the circumstances as they may exist in India in the months ahead.

Furthermore, the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. BELCHER], during the hearings before the committee, engaged in a colloquy with Secretary Freeman that is a part of the record that the administration has ample authority, with or without this resolution.

Therefore, it is clearly understood by everybody here today that this resolution is nothing more or nothing less than the expression of congressional policy to ratify what the President has already decided.

I personally have deep reservations about this method of handling legislation.

It seems unusual, to say the least, that the President would seek to put Congress on record on something that he has already decided, and it leaves us little choice to dispute it.

For example, if we were to amend this resolution today to provide for 5 million tons instead of 3 million tons, or \$100 million instead of \$190 million, such an action would have absolutely no binding legal effect on the authority of the President, and he could still do what he thought desirable under the authority of the law.

The last Congress amended Public Law 480 in many respects. I have before me here a copy of that law, and I would like to read just one section of it in regard to congressional policy concerning the emphasis on self-help in the developing countries such as India:

SELF-HELP MEASURES

"SEC. 109. (a) Before entering into agreements with developing countries for the sale of United States agricultural commodities on whatever terms, the President shall consider the extent to which the recipient country is undertaking wherever practicable self-help measures to increase per capita production and improve the means for storage and distribution of agricultural commodities, including:

"(1) devoting land resources to the production of needed food rather than to the production of nonfood crops—especially nonfood crops in world surplus;

"(2) development of the agricultural chemical, farm machinery and equipment, transportation and other necessary industries through private enterprise;

"(3) training and instructing farmers in agricultural methods and techniques;

"(4) constructing adequate storage facilities;

"(5) improving marketing and distribution systems;

"(6) creating a favorable environment for private enterprise and investment, both domestic and foreign, and utilizing available technical know-how;

"(7) establishing and maintaining Government policies to insure adequate incentives to producers; and

"(8) establishing and expanding institutions for adaptive agricultural research; and

"(9) allocating for these purposes sufficient national budgetary and foreign exchange resources (including those supplied by bilateral, multilateral and consortium aid programs) and local currency resources (resulting from loans or grants to recipient governments of the proceeds of local currency sales).

"(b) Notwithstanding any other provisions of this Act, in agreements with nations not engaged in armed conflict against Communist forces or against nations with which the United States has no diplomatic relations, not less than 20 per centum of the foreign currencies set aside for purposes other than those in sections 104(a), (b), (e), and (j) shall be allocated for the self-help measures set forth in this section.

"(c) Each agreement entered into under this title shall describe the program which the recipient country is undertaking to improve its production, storage, and distribution of agricultural commodities; and shall provide for termination of such agreement whenever the President finds that such program is not being adequately developed.

"SEC. 110. Agreements shall not be entered into under this title during any calendar year which will call for an appropriation to reimburse the Commodity Credit Corporation in an amount in excess of \$1,900,000,000, plus any amount by which agreements entered into under this title in prior years have been called or will call for appropriations to reimburse the Commodity Credit Corporation in amounts less than authorized for such prior years."

(C) By amending title II to read as follows:

Mr. Chairman, does the adoption of the resolution endorsing the President's authority mean that every time the President makes a Public Law 480 agreement with dozens of countries that benefit in the program, we here in the Congress adopt a resolution endorsing it?

When an agreement is proposed for Morocco, Tunisia, Kenya, Vietnam, Pakistan, and so forth, will the House be flooded with a series of resolutions saying, "Yes, Mr. President, we agree with exactly what you are doing in each of these agreements?"

It seems to me, Mr. Chairman, that Congress by law has given the President ample authority to execute and administer this food-for-peace program, and it is my hope that as one Member in this House, that he take all appropriate steps to meet the needs of hungry people in India and to carry out the legislative mandates that are now in Public Law 480.

I thought this might be the appropriate time to focus attention upon the fact that at this time the American farmer, particularly the grain producer, is being called upon to produce grain at market prices well below parity. For example, the February 1967 price in the marketplace for wheat, as reported by the Crop Reporting Board of the Depart-

ment of Agriculture, was only 58 percent of parity. For grain sorghum, it was only 76 percent of parity. In other words, the market prices for these two grains that are to be shipped to India are bringing the farmer well below the fair market price.

Furthermore, there are some other facts that are pertinent to the discussion of this legislation:

The farmer is receiving 13 percent less today than in 1952 for his products.

Sixty percent of the cost of food is added on after it leaves the farm.

Ten years ago, 25 percent of a man's income was spent for food; today only 18 percent of a man's income is spent for food.

We had 15 million people living on the farms in 1960; today there are less than 12 million people living on the farms, with actually less than 4 million doing the farming and 100,000 farmers a year leaving this business.

The average age of the American farmer is now 58 years and only 2 out of every 100 boys born on a farm are now choosing agriculture as a profession.

Farm indebtedness since 1960 has increased 66 percent, to an all-time high of \$41.6 billion. In 1960 it was \$24.8 billion. Since 1960 increased interest rates have cost the American farmer \$800 million.

We are told that there has been a dramatic decrease in our surplus.

When Secretary Freeman appeared before the Agriculture Committee early this year, I asked him the value of the commodities that had been disposed of in our foreign aid programs, and he informed me that it was 15 billion dollars since the inception of the program.

Mr. Freeman said we sold for soft currencies approximately \$15 billion worth of commodities under Public Law 480. Of that amount, roughly \$1.5 billion has been used by us to pay the cost of our embassies and our market promotion. The other \$13.5 billion, roughly, has gone to the receiving country either in terms of grants under the economic development programs or in terms of loans which are subsequently paid into the economic development of the receiving country as well.

I said to Mr. Freeman:

What I was driving at here, perhaps, is the use of our foreign aid dollars to purchase our own products so that the end result is an increase in our overall indebtedness, and if this is increasing our overall indebtedness because of the program, we in the end really are not getting anywhere.

I asked Mr. Freeman:

What was the loss in dollars by the Commodity Credit Corporation this past year?

His answer to this question was:

I think it has been about 1.4 billion dollars to partially restore capital to the Commodity Credit Corporation.

According to a recent appraisal of the Commodity Credit Corporation, Congress appropriated \$3.6 billion to reimburse CCC for unreimbursed losses for fiscal 1965 and the remainder of the loss for fiscal 1964. At the beginning of fiscal 1967 and after the appropriations were

enacted, there remained on the books of the Corporation a total of \$4 billion in unreimbursed losses.

Under this policy we provide huge amounts of grains to such areas at growers prices far below price goals of farm programs.

Farm product prices have declined 6.2 percent since a peak reached last August—this despite the fact that surpluses have been greatly reduced and demand continues strong for their products. Estimates are that farm income this year will be down 5 percent from last year.

Farmers should not be called upon to subsidize the Nation's foreign policy of using American food to aid and stabilize needy areas.

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 minute to the distinguished gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. QUIE].

(Mr. QUIE asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Chairman, I support this resolution and realize the concern of many people about India's cows. Recently I read an interesting article, "The Myth of the Sacred Cow," by Marvin Harris, which appeared in the March 1967 issue of the magazine *Natural History*.

Mr. Chairman, I have made statements on many occasions to the effect that the Indians could have more food if they only ate their cows or, at least, kill them.

However, I find this is an extremely interesting article and when we parliamentarily go back into the House, I shall ask permission to include it with my remarks and also to include a New York Times news item as well.

Mr. Chairman, it is interesting to note that the average production of Indian cows is 413 pounds per year. Mr. Chairman, that compares with my own farm where we produced a little bit over 12,000 pounds per cow per year.

But, Mr. Chairman, it is also interesting to note that they need the bullocks. They claim, therefore, that they need the cows with which to produce the bullocks. Mr. Chairman, in essentially the same fashion as we in the past used horses as the form of motive power with which to cultivate our crops.

Also, Mr. Chairman, it is further stated that the cows and bullocks produce 800 million tons of manure which has annually been bequeathed to the Indian countryside and 300 million tons which are consumed in cookery, representing a B.t.u. of 35 million tons of coal or 68 million tons of wood.

This is an interesting explanation of Indian attitudes toward their cows.

The article referred to follows:

THE MYTH OF THE SACRED COW

(By Marvin Harris)

"NEW DELHI, December 1.—Prime Minister Indira Gandhi appealed today to India's holy men to stop fasting and agitating against cow slaughter.

"In an effort to halt the spreading wave of fasts by the saffron-clad Hindu Sadhus, Mrs. Gandhi wrote directly to Muni Shushil Kumar, president of the All-Party Cow Protection Campaign Committee.

"The Muni has announced his intention of starting a fast tomorrow to demand a nation-

wide ban on the slaughter of cows, which are revered by Hindus as symbols of abundance but whose meat is often eaten by India's Moslem minority.

"On Nov. 7 thousands of demonstrators, led by a group of holy men smeared with white ash and draped with garlands of marigolds, rioted in front of Parliament. Eight persons were killed and 47 injured." (*The New York Times*, Dec. 2, 1966).

Among the popular myths of cultural anarchy, none is more widely accepted than that of the Indian sacred cow. Protected by Hindu taboo from being slaughtered and eaten, these supposedly useless animals wander about at will, impeding traffic and, it is reported, damaging crops. Indeed, in some parts of India, aged cattle are even housed in Gosadans—bovine old-age homes.

But the myth of the sacred cow is part of a widespread overemphasis on the mismanagement of food production by primitive and peasant peoples. One often hears, especially in these times of vast aid programs for the underdeveloped countries of the world, that irrational ideologies and customs prevent the effective use of available food resources.

In the case of the sacred cow, it must be admitted that the Indian dairy industry is among the least efficient in the world. In India, the average annual yield of whole milk per cow has been reported at 413 pounds, as compared with an average of over 5,000 pounds in Europe and the United States. Furthermore, of the 79.4 million cows maintained in 1961, only 20.1 million were milk producers. Among the 47.2 million cows over three years old, 27.2 million were dry and/or not calved. If we go on to accept the proposition that India can make no profit from the negligible slaughter of its enormous cattle supply, we have completed the case for the great cattle bungle. Hence the conclusion of a 1959 Ford Foundation report on India's food problem:

"There is widespread recognition, not only among animal husbandry officials, but among citizens generally, that India's cattle population is far in excess of the available supplies of fodder and feed. . . . At least one third, and possibly as many as one half, of the Indian cattle population may be regarded as surplus in relation to feed supply."

This view is endorsed by government agronomists, and the Indian Ministry of Information insists that "the large animal population is more a liability than an asset in view of our limited land resource." Because of the perpetual food shortage for humans in India, refusal to slaughter cattle seems to prove that the mysterious has triumphed over the practical. Some would even have us believe that in order to preserve his cow the individual farmer is prepared to sacrifice his own life. Such is the myth of the sacred cow.

A better understanding of the cow complex in India involves the answers to the following two questions: (1) Is it true that the rate of reproduction and survival of the Indian population is lowered as a result of the competition between man and cattle for scarce resources? (2) Would the removal of the Hindu taboo on slaughter substantially modify the ecology of Indian food production?

The answer to the first question is that the relation between man and cattle—both cows and bullocks—is not competitive, but symbiotic. The most obvious part of this symbiosis is the role played by male cattle in cultivation. Indian farming is based on plow agriculture, to which cattle contribute up to 46 per cent of the labor cost, exclusive of transport and other activities. Obviously, tractors are not a realistic alternative.

Despite the existence of 96.3 million bullocks, of which 68.6 million are working animals, India suffers from a shortage of such animals. It is generally agreed that a pair of bullocks is the minimum unit for cultivation. But a conservatively estimated 60

million rural households dispose of only 80 million working cattle and buffaloes. This would mean that as many as two-thirds of India's farmers may be short of the technical minimum. Moreover, under existing property relations the bullocks cannot be shared among several households without further lowering the productivity of marginal farms.

M. B. Desai, an Indian economist, explains why: "... over vast areas, sowing and harvesting operations, by the very nature of things, begin simultaneously with the outbreak of the first showers and the maturing of crops respectively and especially the former has got to be put through quickly during the first phase of the monsoon. Under these circumstances, reliance by a farmer on another for bullocks is highly risky and he has got, therefore, to maintain his own pair."

We see, then, that the draft animals, which appear to be superfluous from the point of view of what would be needed in a perfectly engineered society, turn out to be considerably less than sufficient in the actual context of Indian agriculture.

But what of the cows? The first thing to note is again obvious. No cows, no bullocks. Of course, the issue is not so easily settled. Although the need for bullocks establishes the need for cows, it does not establish the need for 80 million of them. We are, however, coming closer to the answer, because we now know that to the value of the milk and milk products produced by the cows, we must add the value of the 69 million male traction animals also produced.

Among the other immediate and important contributions of the cow is the dung. In addition to the relatively minor value of dung as plaster in house construction, this material is India's main cooking fuel. India's grain crops cannot be metabolized by human beings without cooking. Coal and oil are, of course, prohibitively expensive for the peasant family. Thus, dung alone provides the needed energy, and cattle provide the dung on a lavish scale. Of the 800 million tons annually bequeathed the Indian countryside, 300 million are consumed in cookery. This amount is the Btu equivalent of 35 million tons of coal or 68 million tons of wood, an impressive amount of Btu's to be plugged into an energy system.

Of the remaining 500 million tons of dung, the largest part is used for manuring. It has been claimed that 160 million tons of this manure is "wasted on hillsides and roads," but it must be noted that some of this probably re-enters the ecological system, since, as we shall see in a moment, the cattle depend upon hillsides and roads for much of their sustenance. (Needless to say, the intensive rainfall agriculture characteristic of large parts of the subcontinent is dependent upon manuring. So vital is this contribution that one scholar argues that substitutes for the manure consumed as fuel "must be supplied, and lavishly, even at a financial loss to government.")

In the present context, the most important point to note about the fuel and manure functions of India's cattle is that old, dry, barren animals do not cease to provide dung. On this score alone, one might expect more caution before the conclusion is reached that the sacred cow is a useless luxury.

Two additional contributions by cattle, including cows, remain to be mentioned. In 1962 India produced 16 million cattle hides. Much of this output is consumed in the manufacture of leather products vital to the traditional farming technology. In addition, despite the Hindu proscription, a considerable amount of beef is eaten. Those who stress the quaintness of the beef-eating taboo fail to give proper emphasis to the millions of people in India who have no caste to lose. Not only are there some 55 million members of exterior or untouchable groups, many of whom will consume beef if given

the opportunity, but there are also several millions more who are pagan, Christian, or Moslem. It seems likely that a high proportion of the 20 million bovines that die each year get eaten. Moreover, it is quite clear that not all these cattle die a natural death. On the contrary, the very extent of the agitation for antislaughter bills reveals how widespread the slaughter actually is.

We see that to the contribution of the cow as a producer of milk, we must add the production of meat, bullocks, manure, fuel, and hides. The extent of the symbiosis between man and cow, however, is not thereby demonstrated. There still remains the possibility that all these needs could be met at a lower energy or monetary cost per peasant household by reducing the number of aged cows that the peasant tolerates in his ménage. To prove that the ecosystem under discussion is essentially adaptive for human life it must be shown that resources consumed by the cows, old and young, do not, from the point of view of the peasant's balance sheet, outweigh the enumerated contributions. This proof is fairly easy to establish.

Note, first of all, that one of the most persistent professional complaints against the scared cow is that the beasts wander all over the place, cluttering up the markets, railroad stations, and roadsides. Many authorities seem not to inquire why all this wandering takes place from the point of view of the cow, since presumably she has remained uninformed of her sacred privileges. The cow is wandering about because she is hungry and is looking for food—in the ditches, around the base of telegraph poles, between the railroad ties, along the hillsides, in every nook and cranny where something edible has reared its head. The sacred cow is an exploited scavenger, a mere walking skeleton for most of the year, precisely because her ecological niche is removed from that of human food crops.

An ecological explanation of why so many cows are kept is now possible: Each farmer needs his own pair of bullocks. Lacking cash, he cannot afford to buy these animals. Rather than risk going into debt at usurious rates, he prefers to try to breed bulls (which he will exchange later for bullocks). Since all the available land is given over to human food crops, the breeding cows must scavenge for their food. Being undernourished, they breed irregularly. The farmer refrains from culling uncared animals since they convert grain by-products and scrub vegetation into useful dung. Meanwhile, there is always a chance that the cow will eventually conceive. If a female calf is born, the scrub and chaff are converted into milk, while the calf is gradually starved to death. In the long run, the more cows an individual farmer owns, the greater the likelihood that he can replace his bullocks without going into debt.

This explanation does not involve references to ahimsa, the Hindu doctrine of the sanctity of life. Instead, the large number of cows and bullocks is seen as the result of ecological pressures generated by the human population's struggle to maintain itself. Ahimsa may thus be regarded as an ideological expression of these pressures; in other words, ahimsa itself derives power and sustenance from the material rewards it confers upon both men and animals.

In answer to the second question under consideration, it would thus seem that the basic ecology of Indian cattle production is not a mere reflex of the Hindu taboo on slaughter. Removing that taboo might temporarily alter the ecosystem. In the long run, however, the rate at which cattle are presently slaughtered in India is governed by the ability of the peasantry to slaughter them without impairing the production of traction animals, fuel, fertilizer, and milk. It is a well-known fact that the least efficient way to convert solar energy into comestibles is to impose an animal converter between

plant and man. Hence, it is wrong to suppose that India could, without major technological innovations, support any large number of animals whose principal function was to supply animal protein. It has already been shown that the supply of beef is now one of the functions of the cattle complex, but this must necessarily remain a marginal or tertiary attribute of the ecosystem. As a matter of fact, it is obvious that any large-scale drift toward animal slaughter before the traction, fuel, and manure needs of the productive cycle were met would immediately jeopardize the lives of tens of millions of Indians.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. RARICK].

(Mr. RARICK asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Chairman, I rise to speak with some compassion in my heart because I too want no one in the world to go hungry if they are deserving, and are putting forth some effort. I rise to speak not for India, but for America.

As Representatives of our people, very shortly each of us is going to be asked to raise the income taxes on our folks back home. What has India done as far as raising income taxes to take care of the burden of its own people? Certainly we know that they do have hard cash, because in the testimony of Mr. Freeman, the Secretary of Agriculture, before the committee, he said that agriculture was second only to national defense.

Mr. Chairman, if we are going to assume there are people starving—or at least hungry—in India, what in our hearts can we think of a nation that puts its hard-earned cash in guns, tanks, planes, and comes forward with no tax increase or action to buy food from the American farmer?

My colleagues, if national defense is the No. 1 spender of India, who are they defending against? Communism? Where have we seen their boys in Vietnam? Where have we seen their voice in support of some of our leaders, as your sons and your constituents' sons back home fight today in Vietnam?

We Americans are fighting the war to stop Communist aggression in southeast Asia. We are now asked also to feed the multitudes.

Mr. Chairman, if we were to take all of the grain in our reserves and place it in India, there would still be Indians who are hungry.

How the Members of this House vote is their conscience, but I must vote for my people. I will vote "no."

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GROSS].

(Mr. GROSS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Chairman, I take this time to ask a few questions and to make a few observations.

First of all, I would be much interested in knowing what has happened under the tobacco provision in the food-for-India bill that went through the House a couple of years ago, or whenever it was—these food-for-India bills, and resolutions come so fast that I cannot keep up with them. I do wonder how

much tobacco we have sent in the guise of food for the starving people of India?

Mr. Chairman, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE] talks about the "understanding" that we must have. If I am correctly informed we have had about \$3.5 billion worth of this same kind of "understanding" in 10 years or less, and they are still starving in India, and they will continue to starve in India with or without this bill. As the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. RARICK] well said a few minutes ago, you could ship all our surplus food grains to India and there would still be hungry and starving people.

And what about the other hungry millions around the world?

I have read the committee report on this resolution backward and forward. I have read the so-called agreements in this report, and I do not find a single mention of the fact that India, which had 5 million or more men under arms in World War II, has agreed to send a single combat soldier to Vietnam to help us out.

On whose threshold is this Communist aggression in Asia? Is it on our threshold or is it on their threshold?

There is not one word—and apparently nobody wanted to talk about it—not one word concerning any form of reciprocity. It is American blood that is being spilled over there today, and no matter what we do we get no help from India in the department of fighting and dying.

What we are getting is fellow travellers from India who travel to Moscow to undermine our position in Vietnam. That is what we are getting for all of this.

I wonder how much India has spent with the Russians for arms? I wonder if the committee went into the question of how much the Indian Government has taken out of the till and sent to Russia for arms instead of buying food for the hungry?

I wonder how much gold they bought—the government and private citizens of India—in the last year? Some reports say that they have paid as high as \$90 an ounce for gold.

It is time we quit raiding American taxpayers to send food to India.

I got my fill of it the last time out and stated then that it would be the last time around for me. Yet, here you are again and there is no end in sight.

I also note the failure of the Department of Agriculture to carry out the mandate of Congress that previous grain shipments be properly disposed of.

I wonder, too, how much of this is going over as flour? And how much is going over as whole grain? I can understand some of the interest around here today if it is wheat. But there is another party at interest and that is the American taxpayer who is footing this bill—close to \$3.5 billion in the last 10 years. I wonder how much more in foreign aid and other forms of aid to India in addition to the feed grains that have been dished out? And I would like to know how many more billions of dollars in foreign aid we have put into India, a country that shows no disposition—no disposition whatever—to help us but rather to undermine us.

Mr. Chairman, I am opposed to this resolution as I think you can gather.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from California [Mr. BROWN].

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Chairman, I am rising only to ask unanimous consent that I may revise and extend my own remarks at this point in the RECORD for the opportunity of answering some of the remarks that have just been made.

The CHAIRMAN. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the courtesy of the distinguished chairman of the Agriculture Committee in yielding time to me at this point. He has made a very statesman-like presentation in support of House Joint Resolution 267, in his introductory remarks, and I wish to associate myself with those remarks and to join in urging the adoption of this measure.

I requested time at this point because I was somewhat disturbed at the remarks of the two preceding speakers, the gentleman from Louisiana [Mr. RARICK], and the gentleman from Iowa [Mr. GROSS]. While I have the highest regard for their contribution to the Congress, and for their undoubted devotion to the welfare of the U.S. taxpayer, I want to raise the question as to whether their analysis and criticism of this measure, which supports the President in providing U.S. agricultural assistance to the 500 million people of India, may actually be doing a disservice to the U.S. taxpayer. I am afraid that if their views were to prevail it might lead to consequences which could deeply endanger the very security of the United States, and the entire world.

I would like to support this view by pointing to the results of the recently completed elections held in India. This election was a near catastrophe to the ruling Congress Party of India, the party which has represented some degree of progress, stability and commitment to democratic goals since India gained her independence from Britain. The Congress Party, as a result of this election, will have a ruling majority in only 8 of the 16 states of India. Five of 13 Cabinet ministers in the national government were defeated, and a host of State Cabinet officials. The electorate voted out of power a Congress Party-controlled government in the State of Madras that had long been considered a model government. The State of Kerala gave a large majority to a Peking-oriented Communist Party. In most of the State governments the far left and the far right were strengthened, at the expense of the moderate elements. The relations between the national government and the State governments are seriously weakened, leaving the spectre of the possible Balkanization of India.

Why has this happened? Undoubtedly a major factor was the discontent arising from drought and famine in large parts of the country. Probably the failure of the government to produce the improvements in agriculture, in industry, and in general economic level that was promised

and expected all contributed to the Congress Party set-back.

But another large factor was the fact that India has moved closer to U.S. policy in many areas over the past few years. Our efforts to use food as a political weapon to force a closer alignment of United States and Indian policies, to force her to depart from her historic policy of non-alignment and neutralism—undoubtedly helped swell the number of anti-Congress votes.

In other words, a U.S. policy which could be interpreted as holding out the promise of food and economic assistance in return for subservience to U.S. policy may have materially contributed to the weakening of a formerly stable and friendly government and strengthening the forces which lead to both chaos and anti-Americanism.

If I may suggest the possibility, our entire AID program may have had serious elements of error in India in the past as a result of the pressures to make it a vehicle for securing conformity to U.S. policy. For example, our military assistance has encouraged a larger diversion of scarce resources to military support and related activities than has been good for India. It certainly made possible the brief but bitter war with Pakistan, from which both emerged weaker, and from which the U.S.S.R. emerged with greater prestige and influence as a result of her role as a peacemaker.

U.S. AID programs in the past may have encouraged an inappropriate effort at heavy industrial development, when the primary need was in agriculture, light industry, and in social and cultural changes and population control.

The suggestion made by the two distinguished previous speakers that our assistance to India in meeting her food needs be conditioned on support of our military effort in Vietnam would be, to put it mildly, catastrophic to the Government of India, to our relations with her, and to our prestige and influence throughout the underdeveloped world. In addition, for what small importance it might have, India's acquiescence would destroy her role as the neutral member of the three-nation International Control Commission, which still has some potential in a peaceful settlement of the war in Vietnam.

Much as I dislike to differ with the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Agriculture, the gentleman from Texas, I believe that his views expressed this afternoon, and which are likewise contained in the committee report, that we should "encourage India to give up some of her cotton production in favor of more food grains," could likewise be a mistake. To make India dependent on the United States for cotton, which is the basis for a good part of her light industry, because we have a current surplus of cotton production, might well merely shift our problem from one commodity to another, while destroying a vital part of India's economy. I am sure that the chairman would agree that such a subject should be approached with utmost care and any steps taken only after intensive study. While I cannot predict how farmers in India would react to this

situation, I am sure that an American farmer who was told that he should get out of one type of farming and into another because a powerful foreign country thought it was good for him, would react quickly and explosively, and adversely. Even our own Government has much difficulty in making any substantial changes in agricultural crop patterns.

Why should we be concerned with the possible adverse reaction of Indian farmers to our policies, or even with the fall of India's Government, if we think we are right in enforcing such policies, as I am sure some of my colleagues would feel? Let me express briefly some of my views on this question.

India is the largest democracy in the world, and the second largest country, in population, in the world. She is a country with close ties to the West, with a governmental system based on the English one, as is ours, and a country whose culture and language are largely English. She is striving to solve the great problems of this era—economic development, population control, stable government—within the democratic traditions of the West. But the dynamic forces of nationalism, of pride in independence and freedom from colonialism, make it impossible for any government to exist which—in the eyes of the people of India—is but a tool of the most powerful nation of the world: the United States.

If the friendly, although nonaligned, governments which India has had for nearly a generation should be replaced under those circumstances, it will be by either chaos or by a Communist or Communist-leaning government. China, although she has little to offer the underdeveloped world in material assistance, at least offers the example of a country completely free from Western domination. She offers also the example of a country which, on her own, has eliminated the threat of famine, educated her children, wiped out major epidemic disease, rooted out graft and corruption, and begun a widespread industrialization. To culminate this she has broken the monopoly of the developed countries on nuclear weapons in a remarkably short time and, following the example they have set, can rattle the nuclear sword with the best of them.

India, and much of the underdeveloped world, may weigh this in the balance against the grudging assistance of the most affluent of civilized nations, given only in return for subservience to their political aims and policies, and decide that loss of an ephemeral freedom and democracy in their society is not too great a price to pay.

I do not wish to see an alliance of the world's two most populous powers, joined inevitably by a coterie of smaller ones, arrayed against the West. Nor do any of us, who lamented the loss of China to the free world, wish to see the political trauma that will occur as we vie to place the blame on the party or the policies which lost India to the free world.

Yet this could happen tomorrow, or next year, or the year after. It could happen, particularly, if in our ignorance we do not see the relationship between our AID policies, our food for peace poli-

cies, our actions and expressions on this floor, and the political happenings in India today.

To return for a moment to the committee report on this measure, I was gratified by much of what I read there. The President's message on India food, quoted therein, is full of humane insight on the problem of India. He says:

We know, too, that failure to act, and to act now, will multiply the human suffering and political unrest, not only in our generation but in that of our children and their children.

And further on in his message:

The first obligation of the community of man is to provide food for all its members. This obligation overrides political differences and differences in social systems.

I pray that the Members of this Congress, and the people of this country will heed these words. Unless we do, there will be no peace for mankind in our time.

I am pleased to note also the comment in the committee report, referred to by several of my colleagues, that passage of this resolution does not irrevocably fix the amount of U.S. grain to be shipped, in the event that circumstances demonstrate the need for more. This is indicated on page 15 by the following statement:

In endorsing the stated Presidential policy and in submitting the proposed recommendation, the Committee wishes to point out again that House Joint Resolution 267 is not amendatory of existing law and is not intended to be an irrevocable restriction on the power the President holds to meet the circumstances as they exist in India in the months ahead.

I am not quite so pleased with the economic aspects of our food shipments to India. Some have referred to this as a gift. I wish that were so. It is not a gift, but a sale for rupees, which are, in turn, to be retained in India as loans to finance economic development projects—65 percent—as grants to the government to assist in economic development, family welfare and family planning programs—22 percent—and for paying U.S. expenses in India—8 percent. Five percent will be used for loans to private firms in which there is joint United States-Indian collaboration. India may have to pay a part of the costs—such as the shipping costs—in dollars, which would be a serious blow to her slender reserves of hard currency.

It is claimed that the United States already owns 2.5 billion Indian rupees—over 20 percent of all of India's money. This could rise to 30 percent in the near future and represents a formidable stranglehold for a foreign power to have on the economy of any country. If I am correct in my belief that India's stability and continued nonalignment are threatened by the strength of our control over her economy and her political policies, then we are indeed cutting our own throat by the amassing of ever-growing mountains of rupees in that country.

Let us look for a moment in comparative terms at India's economic level and our economic sacrifice in assisting her. India has about 500 million people with an average annual income of about \$70.

This adds up to a total national income of about \$35 billion. In this great and wealthy society of ours, with 200 million people, 40 percent of India's population, we spend each year on liquor and tobacco enough to completely support 300 million Indians—\$22 billion in 1965. Our social security payments to our aged and needy exceed the total income of 500 million Indians by \$7 billion, and our expenditure on clothing and jewelry exceed that total income by \$9 billion. We spend on recreation almost as much as the total Indian national income—\$26 billion.

Our food aid to India since 1951 is, according to the committee report, \$3.8 billion. This is a total of about \$7 per Indian during the last 15 years, or \$50 cents per year per Indian. I am sure we have spent at least a like amount in other forms of assistance—which would make our total assistance about \$1 per year per Indian for these 15 years.

Our economic assistance to Vietnam today is about 50 times that amount, or \$50 per person per year. And our military costs today in Vietnam are running at about \$2,000 per year per South Vietnamese.

It may be argued that our interests in Vietnam are worth that price. I, for one, do not believe it. But no one in his right mind can argue that we should not spend the \$1 per Indian that we are spending, or even 5 or 10 times that much, if it would prevent the development of a South Vietnam in India.

Obviously, the number of dollars that we spend are not the key to our success in helping a country. Otherwise, South Vietnam would be a beacon light of success. It is, instead, the knowledge, the understanding, the compassion that goes with these dollars. I am not happy about the knowledge, the understanding, the compassion displayed by our total assistance program. Too often we try to buy our way, to pay for friendship and loyalty with cash. We will never succeed.

I would like to see a generosity in our aid to India commensurate with our resources. I would like to see it go without strings. I would like to see it followed by our best technical and scientific brains, imbued with humility, who would seek to understand India and help them to use their own resources and their own people to meet their needs. I do not think India would be recreated in the image of America, nor should she. But America would be richer, and in ways not measured in dollars.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. BINGHAM].

(Mr. BINGHAM asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the distinguished chairman yielding me this time.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to compliment the gentleman and his colleagues for their visit to India and for the report that they brought back, and for this resolution that is now before us.

I was in India myself in November and it was my third visit. I was once again impressed by the truly appalling prob-

lems that that country faces. It is difficult for us to conceive of the magnitude and complexity of those problems.

There are explosive forces at work in India today. I just hope that none of us will be responsible if the day ever comes when this great country—the world's largest democracy—falls into chaos because of the failure of the rest of the world to respond with helping hands.

I believe the Indians have been making great efforts in their own behalf, but they have not by any means solved their problems. As a humanitarian measure, and as a purely practical measure, we should continue the assistance that is embodied in the pending joint resolution.

I am somewhat concerned that the resolution is too restrictive, but I am glad to note that the committee has indicated that the restrictions are not absolute and that the President will be accorded flexibility in handling the problems in the future. I think that the resolution represents minimum support by the Congress for what the administration is attempting to do in a most important part of the world.

I give my strongest endorsement to the basic principles of House Joint Resolution 267, which incorporates the legislative proposals set forth by the President in his eloquent message to the Congress on food aid for India. President Johnson clearly enunciated the U.S. concern when he said:

The first obligation of the community of man is to provide food for all of its members. This obligation overrides political differences and differences in social systems.

Both the existing Food for Peace Act, which the Congress passed last year, and the pending resolution, which reinforces the policies of last year's legislation, attest to our commitment to help India meet both her immediate food crisis and long-range needs for food production.

However I am uneasy over certain portions of the pending resolution. In his message to the Congress, the President relied heavily on the fact that India was in grave need of a 10 million-ton emergency grain shipment, without which more than 70 million people would suffer near famine. Despite the prodigious efforts India has made to increase her own production of foodstuffs, these were no substitute for the rains which failed to come. To meet this emergency, and relying on substantial contributions from other grain-producing countries, the President called for an additional U.S. allocation of at most 3 million tons.

Unfortunately, the situation in India has deteriorated even further in the short time since the President formulated his estimates. The representative of the National Grange testified before the Agriculture Committee that India's needs have grown by another 2 to 2½ million tons, thus making the 3 million-ton figure spelled out in the resolution inadequate.

I am glad to note the committee's statement that its endorsement of the President's 3 million-ton figure was "not intended to be an irrevocable restriction on the power the President holds to

meet the circumstances as they may exist in India in the months ahead." The committee specified that its approval of the 3-million-ton figure was based on "estimates now available." In the light of the committee's flexible and realistic attitude, and the fact that estimates have already changed since presentation of the President's message, I trust it will be clear that the President retains the freedom and maneuverability to allocate more grains for India if he thinks the situation so warrants.

Another concern of mine is the resolution's emphasis on "appropriate" matching from all other nations to meet the U.S. contribution of 3 million tons. I certainly agree with the committee's conclusion that—

The principle of equal sharing . . . is both sound and desirable.

Yet I am also worried by the fact that other countries may not be able to match our own food aid at this particular time, and that India will be the one to suffer. Even though America is heading for the largest wheat harvest in its history, Russia is apparently expecting a poor harvest, and Western Europe is expecting only average yields. My point here is that I hope that, in implementing this resolution, the executive branch will not allow a legitimate concern for adequate participation by other nations to take precedence over an even more pressing concern for the well-being of the Indian people.

Finally, I would like to suggest that the most serious consideration be given to making these food grains available on a grant basis under Title II of Public Law 480 rather than on the purchase basis under Title I called for in the resolution. A nation that has suffered from a major drought for 2 years and in which more than 70 million face near-famine conditions would seem to clearly merit grant aid under the broad language of Title II. As I recall, last year we authorized the expenditure of up to \$600 million a year for such Title II aid to meet famine conditions or provide urgent or extraordinary relief.

Such grant assistance would also help forestall another major crisis—that caused by India's diversion of her scarce foreign exchange from economic development to food purchases and shipping costs. Under the resolution's title I sale provisions, India would have to pay shipping costs in hard currency with the United States paying only for the extra cost of using American bottoms. At this time, she has only \$330 million in foreign exchange—barely enough to cover the costs of her imports in any 2-month period. Moreover, it is not clear whether this title I transaction would be a dollar or rupee sale; even if it were a rupee sale, this would only add to the unmanageable rupee balances that already exist as a result of past Public Law 480 transactions.

I am, of course, well aware that the United States has been very generous to India over the years. We have given abundantly of our dollars and our products. But this generosity has not gone to waste. In addition to helping India combat the specter of famine and widespread hunger, I think that our help has

played a major role in maintaining India's political independence and economic viability during her difficult early years. There is no question that India still faces enormous internal difficulties and that much more foreign aid and technical guidance will be needed to further her economic development. But India's role in Asia is crucial. Her continued economic growth and political stability are vital to our own goals and hopes for Asia.

Should India fall into chaos, should her staggering problems completely overwhelm her and bring down her political structure, we would have real reason to fear for the future of all Asia. Thus, our purposes in helping India are twofold; humanitarian and practical. The United States, as the richest Nation in the world, cannot sit idly by and witness the misery and hunger of many millions. Nor can we tolerate the prospect of the political splintering or disintegration of the Indian nation—because of insufficient aid at this crucial juncture.

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Chairman, I have no further requests for time.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, I have one further request for time. I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from New York, [Mr. OTTINGER].

(Mr. OTTINGER asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Chairman, I wish to thank the chairman, the gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE] for yielding me this time and to assure him that I support the joint resolution.

I should like to commend him, the chief sponsor of the resolution, for the statesmanlike manner in which he has brought this legislation to the House. I commend both him and the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. DOLE] for taking a firsthand look at the situation in India on behalf of the President and for the forthright and perceptive recommendations they made to the President upon their return.

The gentleman from North Dakota and I, and other Members of this body, I am sure, are very concerned that the amount of food aid represented in this resolution may turn out to be insufficient to meet India's needs because of the limitations. Were it not for the qualifying language, the resolution might be unduly restrictive and potentially harmful.

I would like to ask the chairman of the committee a question. The resolution under consideration contains certain limitations on United States food aid to India, which is qualified by the phrase, "on the basis of estimates now available;" of the imports required to meet the food shortage in India. Am I correct in assuming that should these estimates of India's needs prove inaccurate, the United States will be able to adjust its food aid assistance?

Mr. POAGE. The gentleman is correct, and the resolution so provides.

Mr. OTTINGER. One further question, Mr. Chairman: I have recently been made aware that there may be a report in the possession of the administration which would tend to substantiate the testimony to the Agriculture Committee by the legislative representative of the

National Grange to the effect that India's food grain production in 1967 will actually fall far short of the estimates on which this resolution is based. Is the Chairman aware of such a report?

Mr. POAGE. No; I am not aware of it.

Mr. OTTINGER. Mr. Chairman, I intend to support House Joint Resolution 267, although I feel it is unnecessary and find some of its provisions unduly restrictive. The good in it is congressional endorsement of the importance of meeting India's critical food import requirements and helping her avoid mass starvation.

I am sure that most of the Congress as well as most Americans join me in endorsing the President's proposals for a joint approach to India's food problems by a consortium of "have" countries. Certainly, to meet urgent food needs of the fast-growing populations of the "have not" nations, to avoid mass starvation and political upheavals in these nations, the cooperation of all "have" countries will be needed. The United States cannot and should not bear these burdens alone.

I support the President's proposals for sharing India's food-deficit burdens, but with the understanding that the President does not intend to lock in the U.S. position to such an extent that starvation of Indian children becomes a principal bargaining tool to obtain contributions from other "have" nations, or for any other political objectives.

During the hearings on this resolution, both the Secretary of Agriculture and the Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs stated that it is the administration's intention to leave itself flexible in making food allocations to India in the event there are unforeseen contingencies. During those same hearings, the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. DOLE] made clear that the drafters of this resolution were concerned that, despite strong efforts by the United States to get other nations to match our food contributions, exactly equivalent allocations might not be forthcoming. The gentleman from Kansas said in that event the United States should be in a position to supply additional food. This is fully supported both by history and logic, since last year the United States supplied 8.3 million of the 11 million tons of food grains India had to import to meet her vital needs—and other "have" nations simply did not produce surpluses to enable them to supply half of these needs even if they had wanted to.

In his testimony before the Committee on Agriculture, Under Secretary of State Eugene Rostow stated:

We cannot expect those countries to take over the task of meeting half of India's food import needs immediately. Full matching of our concessional deliveries will not be possible this year, although we have not given up hope of success in that effort.

Apart from the problems of equal sharing in India's food import program, let us look at the food commitments contained in the resolution before the House today. We have already committed 3.6 million tons to India this year. In the resolution under consideration, we pledge an additional 3 million tons "provided it is appropriately matched." Assum-

ing other nations come up with 3 million tons of food to match our allocation, the total outside aid to India this year will amount only to 9.6 million tons, which is far below even the most conservative estimates of India's needs.

Last August, the Indian Government estimated its import requirements at 10 million tons of food grains for the period November 1966 to December 1967. This was based on expectations for a normal crop year in which production would exceed 80 million tons. It is obvious now that India's food grain production will be far lower. The legislative representative of the National Grange testified last week that our estimates of India's food needs were based on out-of-date figures and that because of severe drought conditions, Indian food production will be somewhere between 72 million tons and 76 million tons. I am reliably informed that this estimate is supported by figures in the possession of the Department of Agriculture and the Department of State, but that those figures have not been released.

I urge my colleagues to consider carefully these figures and read closely the language of House Joint Resolution 267. They raise some urgent questions:

Will other nations be willing and able to match our 3-million-ton allocation?

Even if our 3 million-ton pledge is fully matched by other nations, will this assistance be sufficient to prevent mass starvation in India later this year?

If other nations do not provide a full 3 million tons, or if India's requirements substantially exceed 10 million tons, will the administration come back to Congress for another resolution consenting to the allocation of an additional amount of food grains?

Would such a resolution have a reasonable chance of passage in the face of the limitations in House Joint Resolution 267?

Or will the administration be content to sit by and watch millions of Indians starve to death for failure of the accuracy of the estimates in this resolution or for failure of other nations to provide a full matching share?

The likelihood that India's food import needs will substantially exceed the limitations of House Joint Resolution 267 are so great that one must question the wisdom of having them in the resolution.

The consequences of failing to respond if India's requirements exceed these limitations are so grave that one cannot fully comprehend their impact. Leaving millions of Indians to starve to death, particularly if we realize the domestic production presently anticipated, would be unthinkable inhumane. Furthermore, it would have dire political consequences for the largest bastion of democracy in the East—a democracy already under severe stress from prolonged famine and serious economic problems.

Support for House Joint Resolution 267 can only be justified on the basis of the qualification that its limitations are premised "on the basis of estimates now available." I am therefore pleased that the administration, the chairman of the Committee on Agriculture, and the co-author of the resolution [Mr. DOLE], have all clearly indicated that, should

the estimates on which the limitations are based prove inaccurate, other arrangements can be made to adjust our assistance. This qualification is vital to our own interests as well as to the humanitarian principles for which this Nation has always stood.

Unfortunately, the record of this Government's handling of emergency food relief for India does not justify complete confidence that adequate flexibility will actually be employed. For example, House Joint Resolution 267 includes a \$25 million allocation in emergency food relief for distribution by CARE and other American voluntary agencies. These funds were appropriated last year. They were requested nearly four months ago, and the administration knew at that time that they were urgently needed to avert widespread starvation among some 10 million children in the States of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. Although approval of this grant was fully within the administration's authority under Public Law 480, as amended, action on it was delayed for reasons never disclosed. In my view, this is a poor way to handle emergency food relief, for our delay could be interpreted, unfortunately, as playing politics with the lives of children.

There is no question that India has not done enough to put her agriculture on a self-supporting basis. Much remains to be done, but positive steps have been taken by the Indian Government to meet the needs of the people. I think India's self-help measures were recognized by the congressional delegation which visited India at the request of the President last December. A comprehensive study of these steps has also been made by the Department of Agriculture, and I present herewith for the RECORD a letter I received from the executive assistant to the Secretary of Agriculture in response to my request for that study:

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE,
Washington, D.C., February 3, 1967.

HON. RICHARD L. OTTINGER,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. OTTINGER: Thank you for your letter of January 27 in which you request a copy of a report to the Department of Agriculture by Martin E. Abel on self-help measures undertaken by India.

A formal report evaluating agricultural self-help measures in India was not prepared. However, the findings of the Department of Agriculture team can be summarized as follows:

Starting in late 1965 the Government of India began to place increasing emphasis on agricultural development. The food crises of the past few years made it unmistakably clear to India's leaders that agriculture, among all the development objectives, had to receive top priority. Very significant changes have occurred in India's agricultural policies and the commitment of resources to agriculture. Public investment scheduled for agriculture during the Fourth Five-Year Plan will be more than double that the Third Plan. Agriculture is second only to national defense in the Fourth Plan. Accelerated investments in agriculture have already begun to take place. Budget expenditures for agriculture during 1966-67 are 43 percent above the 1965-66 level. In addition to the Fourth Five Year Plan the Indian Government has developed an annual subplan which will permit early evaluations of performance. This procedure introduces a new

degree of flexibility in adjusting resource allocations within agriculture to ensure that production targets are met.

Since 1964, the Indian Government has been providing food grain producers minimum price support at levels sufficient to encourage greater production.

In 1964, also, the Indian Parliament created a statutory agency for the purpose of making the price support schedule effective. This agency, called the Food Corporation of India, was charged with two additional responsibilities: To help insure equitable distribution of food among consumers at reasonable prices by gaining a commanding position in the market through purchase, storage, and movement; and to build up gradually a national food reserve.

The tight food grain situation of the past two years has kept market prices well above support prices, thus minimizing the need of the Food Corporation to support prices. The Food Corporation has gradually taken over the procurement responsibility of other Center agencies and, this year, the Food Corporation will be the procurement agent for almost all State governments. Eventually it will operate over the entire country. In a further step, a meeting of state and central government leaders in November, 1966, agreed that a national food budget system should be immediately developed to facilitate greater sharing between surplus and deficit states. The staff work for the food budget is nearing completion and the budget is expected to be announced in March.

The Indian Government took a number of steps in 1966 to stimulate investment in fertilizer production capacity and to ensure sufficient imports of fertilizer to meet established targets for total fertilizer availability.

India has taken the following steps to improve the investment climate for the manufacture of fertilizer in the private sector: (a) All geographic constraints on fertilizer marketing within each state have been removed, and New Delhi plans to remove constraints on interstate movement as soon as supplies permit. (b) All private manufacturers of fertilizer who commit themselves to invest in India prior to March 1, 1967, will be allowed freely to price and distribute their products, with no government regulations. (c) Simplified and streamlined procedures for approving and licensing foreign private investment in the manufacture of fertilizer have been put into effect and, together with new policies on foreign private investment (e.g., acceptance of management control by the foreign collaborator), have succeeded in speeding negotiations with investors already underway and in stimulating proposals from other foreign firms. (d) In allocating foreign exchange, top priority has been given to fertilizers, including fertilizer for seeding programs of new plants, fertilizer raw materials and spare parts for fertilizer plants. (Foreign exchange allocations for fertilizer in 1965/66 were \$163 million and in the current year it is \$268 million.)

Substantial progress has been made to increase the operating efficiency of fertilizer plants in the public sector. As a percent of capacity, production has been raised from 63 percent in 1965 to an estimated 80 percent in 1966. The principal reasons for operation of plants at low levels of capacity were a lack of raw materials, a shortage of spare parts, and poorly designed plants. Indian efforts to date have improved the situation on all these fronts. Steps are also being taken to reduce the dependence upon sulphur—in short supply world around—in the manufacture of fertilizer in India and to develop India's pyrite deposits which can meet the entire sulphur requirements by 1974.

To maximize food production from available inputs, India has adopted a strategy of concentrating the combination of agri-

cultural inputs on the most productive land with an assured supply of water. This concept was first embodied in the Intensive Agricultural District Program, later incorporated in the larger Intensive Agricultural Areas Program and now embodied in the High-Yielding Varieties Program. For the Fourth Five-Year plan a target of 32.5 million acres has been set for the High-Yielding Varieties Program and an adequate supply of fertilizer, improved seed varieties, plant protection materials, and irrigation are to be assured for this acreage.

India plans to cover 6.4 million acres of the best crop land with an assured water supply under the High-Yielding Varieties Program during the 1966-67 crop year—an effort without precedent. Domestic supplies of high-yielding varieties were augmented by 18,000 tons of imported wheat seed from Mexico in an effort to meet the targets. Although available evidence indicates that the concentration of available inputs on the selected acreage has been carried out effectively, drought has affected this program to the extent of ruling out the possibility of reaching the target of one additional ton of food grain per acre. But the program is demonstrating that Indian farmers, given proper guidance and necessary inputs, can dramatically raise productivity levels.

A cabinet level committee on agricultural credit has been established. Also, a working level committee of the GOI is currently studying ways to establish a national agricultural credit program. Steps have been taken this year to increase (about 10 percent over last year) the supply of credit to cultivators through the coops and, on a pilot basis, to use the Food Corporation of India to extend credit to cultivators as an advance on their crop. Cultivators can pay off their loan by either grain or cash. Finally, private banks have been urged to establish rural credit programs.

There has been some speedup in Indian performance in the soil and water management field. The basic outline for a new program has been developed (with USAID/US Geological Survey assistance) and a central coordinating body has been set up and is partially staffed. In addition, India has developed, and is beginning to implement (with USAID/Soil Conservation Service assistance), a program for the better management and more intensive utilization of available water. Recent evaluations of Indian agricultural development by other organizations such as the World Bank are in substantial agreement with the findings of the Department of Agriculture team that was in India in November and December 1966.

Sincerely yours,

THOMAS R. HUGHES,
Executive Assistant to the Secretary.

In the event that questions will be raised regarding the ability of the United States to do more for India than this resolution foresees, the legislative representative of the National Grange testified that the 1967 wheat crop in the United States will be an all-time record of about 1.6 billion bushels. With our current carryover of 400 million bushels, the total available wheat supply would be 2 billion bushels. This means that after using 650 million bushels for domestic requirements and another 650 million bushels for export—which includes 3 million tons for India—the United States will have a carryover of 700 million bushels this year—some 175 million bushels more than we need to feed this country for a year.

Let me make clear that what we do for India should not be considered simply an act of humane generosity. Any obligation to provide this food is not to

India, but to ourselves. It is vitally in our national interest to help see to it that starvation does not tear asunder the largest free democracy in the Eastern World. No greater defeat of freedom, no greater favor to our enemies could be imagined.

Mr. DENT. Mr. Chairman, a few years ago I had an opportunity to stop for a briefing on Indian Agriculture with our most able Ambassador, our former colleague, Honorable Chester Bowles.

At that time the village concept of farm planing was taking hold on the Indian farm areas.

Chet Bowles was able to arrange for on the scene trips to the various villages. We had meetings with government officials and community gatherings of the people to discuss their serious food problems.

While our main objective was a study of our Department of Defense schools, we felt that the food problems of India were of a nature to compel any Member of Congress, or for that matter any citizen, to learn all he could about it.

Thanks to Chet Bowles and his dedication to these problems of serious concern to India, I have been receiving information on this and other areas which affect our own interests and peoples in their relationship to the rest of the world.

This legislation before us requires more than passing concern. It will affect the lives of millions of people.

I am happy to be able to put into the RECORD at this point a recent survey and report on the high hopes of the Indian peoples and Government to provide for themselves in the not too distant future:

Although today's newspaper headlines focus on the severe drought and near-famine conditions in Bihar, eastern Uttar Pradesh, and Madhya Pradesh, we believe that India may be on the verge of a major breakthrough in agricultural production.

I. THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA IS COMMITTED

Minister of Food and Agriculture, Mr. C. Subramaniam, recently affirmed that India is determined to become self-sufficient in agriculture by 1971 and pledged that the Indian Government will provide all of the resources required to achieve this goal.

While this target may be optimistic, with an even break in the weather and with a sustained nationwide program giving agriculture top priority we believe agricultural self-sufficiency in five to seven years is feasible.

The Government of India is acting on Subramaniam's pledge. It has allocated Rs. 293 crores (\$390.64 million) for agricultural programs for 1966/67 as against Rs. 219 crores (\$292 million) allocated for 1965/66. This is an increase of 34%.

In addition, the carry-over into the regular (non-plan) 1966/67 budget of projects initiated during the Third Plan will add a substantial amount which, according to official Ministry of Food and Agriculture estimates, could reach a figure as high as 60 crores rupees (\$80 million).

With these additional funds the increase in agricultural investment for 1966/67 over 1965/66 will be well over 40%. This increase is especially noteworthy since it is taking place at a time when total Plan investment is being scaled down 10% from last year because of the general economic lag following the war with Pakistan and the severe drought.

Moreover, the Indian Government is now publicly committed to a 100% plus increase

in Fourth Plan agricultural expenditures, from Rs. 1103 crores (\$1470.4 million) for the Third Plan to Rs. 2410 crores (\$3213.2 million) in the Fourth Plan. The Government has further stated that more money will be made available if more is needed.

II. THE NEW INPUTS ARE INCREASINGLY AVAILABLE

For several years India's eight agricultural universities (modeled after US land-grant institutions) and a number of specialized institutes sponsored by the Indian Council of Agricultural Research, have been conducting extensive programs of research and experimentation. The practical results of this basic effort are now providing India with the tools which are required if India is to achieve self-sufficiency within the next five to seven years.

A. Fertilizer

The GOI has announced the following steps to increase fertilizer availability:

- (1) Removal of geographic constraints on fertilizer marketing;
- (2) Abolishment of the Government's near-monopoly control of the fertilizer supply;
- (3) Permission for fertilizer prices to be set by the market demand;
- (4) Provision of adequate foreign exchange to operate public fertilizer plants at full capacity;
- (5) Institution of administrative and procedural changes to ease approval and licensing procedures for foreign private investment in new fertilizer plants;
- (6) Provision of increased credit to farmers regardless of where they buy their fertilizer; and
- (7) Abolishment of the requirement of government participation in the ownership of private fertilizer plants.

These steps have now been largely carried out. India expects to produce 535,000 tons of nitrogen-based fertilizers in 1967. This is a 78% increase over the 1966 production of 300,000 tons. New plants now under construction will raise India's indigenous fertilizer production by 1.8 million tons. The successful conclusion of current negotiations with American, British, Japanese, and Italian interests would assure production of nearly 2.5 million tons of nitrogen fertilizer from Indian plants by 1972.

The fertilizer import program, although substantial in size (634,000 tons in 1966) has been subject to some delays. Consequently there was not sufficient fertilizer available to meet the quotas for last summer's crop (kharif crop). However, the fertilizer pipeline is now full and the winter (rabl) crop which will be harvested in early 1967 should benefit very significantly.

B. Seeds

Not only has India imported substantial amounts of high-yielding seed varieties (Mexican wheat and Taiwanese rice) which have been multiplied domestically, it is also pressing forward with several major programs which have developed both excellent adaptations of the imported varieties and promising new local strains.

During the current crop year, as a first step toward its new drive for increased production, India has planted 5.5 million acres with these new high-yielding seeds. Nearly three million acres out of this total were planted with locally produced seeds. If the weather is normal, this year's crop should provide enough high-yielding seeds so that India can meet its goal of covering 16 million acres next year and 32 million acres by 1972 with new varieties solely from domestic sources.

C. Irrigation

Already roughly 25 percent of the arable land in India is irrigated. The substantial increase called for in the Fourth Five Year Plan will, if it is realized, assure significant

progress towards freeing the farmers from the uncertainty of the monsoon rains.

Partially in response to the severe drought conditions these past two years, greater emphasis is being placed on the digging of shallow wells, tubewells, and improving local irrigation systems, especially along the Gangetic Plain. This area is believed to have one of the greatest ground water reserves in the world.

At the end of the Third Plan in 1965, total acreage under irrigation was 85 million. The Fourth Plan aims at adding 17 million acres irrigated by minor projects and 9 million acres irrigated by major projects. By 1971 this will provide a total acreage under irrigation of 111 million acres, roughly one-third of India's potential farmland.

The emphasis on minor well-digging projects offers a quick impact since within a very short time the water can be used by the farmer. The Government of India has purchased or rented every drill rig available in India through commercial channels in order to move forward rapidly with minor irrigation schemes.

III. NEW METHODS POINT TOWARD A RURAL REVOLUTION

Here is an example of what the new agricultural technology can mean to a small North Indian farmer.

He grows wheat on his two and one-half acres of land and he sells it in the market for Rs. 650 a ton. By using the new agricultural technology—high yielding seeds, irrigation, chemical fertilizers, and pesticides, this farmer can at least triple his production. His comparative budget will look like this:

	Costs by traditional methods	Costs by new methods
Plant protection.....rupees.....	0	30
Seeds.....do.....	50	100
Irrigation capital changes at 20 percent a year gross return on investment of 1,500 rupees.....rupees.....	0	300
Irrigation, operating charges.....do.....	0	50
Fertilizer.....do.....	0	250
Labor and bullock power.....do.....	250	250
Total.....do.....	300	980
Yield.....do.....tons.....	1.5	4.5
Total sales.....rupees.....	975	2,925
Net earnings on 2.5 acres:		
Rupees.....	675	1,945
Dollars.....	91.33	259.33

Thus, using these new methods already so successful in Japan and Taiwan, the farmer has tripled his production and nearly tripled his earnings. High initial costs will soon amortize, and by planting two or even three crops a year, the farmer can expect to earn substantially more.

On a five acre farm, with half of the land double-cropped, an Indian farmer can now earn almost Rs. 6000. If he has a family of five, their per capita income will be twice the present Indian average. Moreover, the farmer using the new technology has not only increased the yield of one growing season; he has also sharply increased the overall productive capacity of his land.

IV. RESULTS OF THIS REVOLUTION ARE ALREADY BECOMING EVIDENT

Concrete examples of these sharp increases in rice as well as wheat production can already be seen throughout India.

For instance, of the 1.3 million acres in Kerala now cultivated in rice, 130 thousand acres have been planted with the new Taiwanese seeds and fertilized with nitrogen, yielding an average crop three times greater than the previous high. Kerala agriculture officials estimate that over 700 thousand acres will be planted with this seed variety by 1968.

In the Tanjore district of Madras the same

kind of revolutionary changes are taking place. Recent visitors to Tanjore report a similar increase in yields there with 200 thousand acres in that district alone planted with improved seeds (up from ten thousand acres in 1965.)

V. THE IMPACT ON INDIA'S ECONOMY GENERALLY

The multiplier effect of increased agricultural production on the economy of India cannot be overemphasized.

As the farmer's productive capacity increases, his income rises. With more money he begins to purchase consumer items—sewing machines, transistor radios, bicycles, small tractors, etc.

As the consumer market is stimulated by increased demand, more money will be invested in factories, mills and smaller scale industries. As India's industrial and agricultural production rises, so will its ability to export and earn valuable foreign exchange.

This agriculture-based process of national economic growth is already responsible for spectacular gains in Japan, Taiwan and South Korea. Now there is reason to hope that the same process is beginning to work in India with its crucially important one-seventh of the world's population.

VI. EFFECTS OF DROUGHT STILL HAMPER PROGRESS

Nevertheless, in spite of the vast effort which is now underway India as a whole will continue to face serious food shortages in 1967 as a result of the failure of the monsoon rains for the past 2 years.

In the rice bowl area of Bihar, eastern Uttar Pradesh and northeast Madhya Pradesh—areas with a total population of more than 100 million people—the drought last year has had a severe impact with the current foodgrain crops down to 1/3 to 1/2 of normal output.

The advent of the December-January rains in this area has brightened prospects somewhat, but the rains have so far not been sufficient enough to promise more than an average winter crop.

The impact of the drought in Bihar is compounded by the low state of India's grain reserves. In 1965-66 the effects of that year's drought on the food situation were made somewhat more manageable by the existence of substantial reserves of grain in the hands of tens of thousands of grain dealers, cultivators and consumers following the record harvest of 1964.

These "invisible reserves," which may have been as high as six or seven million tons in rural and commercial stocks, are now largely gone. As a result even though total foodgrain production in 1966 may have been ten million tons above the previous year (despite the severe regional drought) India faces calendar year 1967 with the prospect that imports from abroad must at least equal those of calendar year 1966.

IN CONCLUSION

The Indian Government has embarked on a massive program to modernize Indian agriculture. This effort is sparking a revolution in India's 500,000 villages which would have been impossible to visualize only a few years ago. The great majority of farmers are now eager for fertilizer, for better seeds, and the more efficient use of water.

For the first time in history India's farmers are motivated not just to produce more for their families but to adjust their sights to urban markets far from their villages. In this new mood they find their Government willing to cooperate and prepared to undertake large commitments in their behalf.

The impact of this remarkable change which is occurring in Indian agriculture has been largely obscured by two consecutive droughts.

However, if the rains during the next few years are normal throughout India and if the Government of India continues ener-

getically to place its top priority on agriculture, Mr. Subramaniam will be able to point proudly to rapid progress and perhaps even to redeem his pledge of self-sufficiency in foodgrains by 1971.

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Chairman, I wish to add my voice to those of other Members urging passage of Joint Resolution 267, supporting emergency food assistance to India.

The Indian nation, largest democracy in the world, is passing through a most trying period in its national life. Members are aware of the effects of the two most disastrous monsoon failures in a hundred years of Indian history. If these natural disasters were not enough, the effects of two major wars in the past 4 years have compounded them.

The first, with Communist China on India's eastern frontier, was followed by a second with Pakistan on the western border. Leaving aside the merits of these clashes, both placed a severe strain on Indian resources and added in some measure to the already staggering developmental problems facing her Government.

And just last week a third complicating factor has been added, a rather major realignment in the composition of the Indian Government as a result of the national elections, the effects of which remain to be seen. I do not, of course, intend to comment on the results of this election since they are, after all, an internal Indian affair. Suffice to say that a new factor has been added and uncertainties over the future course of events have been planted in many minds.

This, then, is a period of great stress for India, and one in which, it seems to me, this Government's position should be one of doing everything it can to add to the stability of India's institutions.

Joint Resolution 267 is one device whereby we can do so. It will provide some 3.6 million tons of grain, and some \$25 million of additional emergency food for distribution by private agencies, to meet a serious food deficit. It encourages the Government of India in its quest to become self-sufficient in food, and calls upon other nations to assist the Government of India with all means at their disposal.

To quote from the resolution:

The programs of economic and agricultural development which have been launched by the Government of India would be seriously impaired if the international community failed to act promptly and on an adequate scale to meet the urgent needs of the people of India.

In my opinion, this critical time is no time to delay those measures which will add to the stability and strength of the fabrics of Indian society. It is rather a time for action.

I urge the passage of House Joint Resolution 267.

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Chairman, I want to voice my firm support of this resolution.

We who serve in the Congress of the United States conduct our business never far away from the hungry mouths and and beseeching voices of the world's deprived.

The basic problem of survival which confronts a large segment of the human

family challenges us as representatives of a humane nation. As the world population increases and political complexities multiply, we must remain flexible in the methods which we employ to alleviate hunger.

I support the administration's attempts to encourage the participation of other able nations in food and other aid programs. However, I would like to express my concern that the earlier estimates of need, placed at 3 million tons, may prove to be insufficient. If that should be the case, as many authorities indicate, it will be, I urge that we maintain a flexible policy on the amount of grain to be sent to India.

Mr. SHIPLEY. Mr. Chairman, I wish to add my voice in support of House Joint Resolution 267. In this resolution are contained the essentials of what must be done to avert a food crisis affecting the one-fifth of mankind living in India.

U.S. agricultural commodities and resources will be made available to meet the immediate food deficit threatening in 1967.

The President's policy of seeking equal participation by other nations in meeting the developmental and food aid needs of India will be endorsed.

And finally, the Government of India will be encouraged and assisted in achieving self-sufficiency in meeting its own food needs in future years.

Members recognize, I am sure, the vital necessity of self-help efforts in India and the other developing nations. Its importance cannot be overemphasized.

Total world population will double in the next 33 years, rising to some 6 billion people by the turn of the century. Fully four-fifths of these new people will be born in the developing nations.

These developing nations, as a group, were net grain exporters only a generation ago. Today they are importing more than 30 million tons of grain a year in a desperate effort to feed a populace that can no longer be sustained by the primitive tillage of their own soils.

These massive imports have taken their toll. For 6 years now world grain stocks have been declining. Each year since 1961 world food consumption has exceeded production. In short, the world has been eating up its accumulated capital of grain.

But now the grain stocks are reduced to near-minimal levels. They cannot be reduced much further. Production must go up, or consumption will come down.

Accomplishing this, however, will take massive effort and time, and human beings must feed their bodies in the present, and not in the future. And so while we press ahead to provide the long-range solutions, I urge action on House Joint Resolution 267 to meet India's immediate needs.

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. Chairman, we have before us today a most important legislative proposal, in House Joint Resolution 267, to support emergency food assistance to India. The need for this legislation results from a 2-year drought in India and that country's unfortunate economic position. Approval of this resolution by the Congress will give support to our President's efforts to have the world community of "have" nations join with our own country in viewing

this emergency situation as one requiring international responsibility and response; and, a proposal to that effect is being supported by other countries of the world.

Our Government's representatives, in January of this year, visited a number of countries which have accepted the idea that the emergency should be viewed as an international responsibility. There is broad agreement that a consortium of nations, under the World Bank, could provide an effective systematic basis for organizing such an international effort.

As I pointed out, the emergency food situation results from a 2-year drought. In 1966, there was a worldwide response to India's food problems when 36 countries, including our own, contributed foodgrains or food-related aid to meet the emergency created by last year's drought. For a comprehensive explanation of the problem, I suggest that the Members of the House read the statement of the Honorable Eugene V. Rostow, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, made before the House Agriculture Committee on February 28, 1967.

India as a nation has demonstrated its commitment to the democratic process. In its most recent election, which started on February 15, 1967, more than 175 million people voted in what is undoubtedly a most mammoth display of democracy in action.

Mr. Chairman, those who have been blessed with an abundance of wealth—such as we have been blessed—should be willing to share.

Let me conclude by saying: One always loses—not by failing to take—but by failing to give.

It is for these reasons that I will vote in favor of House Joint Resolution 267.

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Chairman, the Honorable Eugene V. Rostow, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, appeared before our House Committee on Agriculture on February 28, 1967. His statement quite clearly explains the position of the United States in regard to the food-for-India program and what India is doing to help herself in this period of adverse food supply. I include his statement before our committee at this point in the RECORD and recommend its reading to my fellow Members of Congress:

STATEMENT BY THE HONORABLE EUGENE V. ROSTOW, UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS, BEFORE THE HOUSE AGRICULTURE COMMITTEE, TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 28, 1967

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Committee on Agriculture, I appreciate this opportunity to discuss with you today the food situation in India. Secretary Freeman has already covered a number of the key points. I propose only to outline briefly the nature of the international response to India's food problem, particularly the impressions I gained as a result of my recent trip to various world capitals at the direction of the President, and to touch on a number of the other considerations, in the international field and in India, of importance to your deliberations.

Before I begin, however, I thought I might comment on the recent political events in India. The largest election in the world began on February 15 and the results of it became known over this past weekend. More than 175 million people have been to the polls in an election which saw democracy at

work on a mammoth scale. Some powerful political figures have been toppled by newcomers in some constituencies, while familiar names have been returned to Parliament or to the State Assemblies from others.

The full implications of these election results on the makeup of the post election government and the policies it will pursue are not yet discernible. But the most striking characteristic of this election, in my judgment, was its demonstration of India's commitment to the democratic process. This expression of the will of the Indian people in a democratic election stands in sharp contrast to recent developments in China which have been marked by violence bordering on anarchy and civil war.

The election also demonstrated the nature of the changing Indian society which both underpins and is responsive to the democratic process. India's democratic institutions have been taking root for several decades. The system has managed the world's largest and most pluralistic democracy through the early years of independence, through four general elections and through two major succession crises.

The Congress Party has now been returned to power at the center, albeit with a much smaller majority, and a new government must now be formed. Once we know the make-up of that government, we will be able to gauge its policies. But the way in which the elections were played out, the issues involved and the results thereof, all suggest that the high priorities assigned to agricultural production and economic development will continue. Whatever the complexion of the future government and its policies, one thing is certain. We will continue to have a stake in the success of India's democratic institutions.

To turn now to the problem of Indian food, I should like first to speak briefly about the trip Under Secretary Schnitzler and I took in January at the request of President Johnson. We visited eight major capitals of the world. We exchanged views with governments of seven countries belonging to the India Consortium—Japan, Italy, France, Germany, Great Britain, the Netherlands and Belgium—as well as with the Government of India.

In each capital, we conveyed President Johnson's grave concern that the developing world is losing ground in the race between food and population; that despite U.S. efforts to increase acreage, our country can no longer be counted on to supply an inexhaustible reserve of food grains for the hungry; and that the United States believes all nations of the world, rich and poor alike, must shoulder their share of the world's fight against hunger and malnutrition.

We also emphasized the President's view that the failure of other nations to join in this effort would lead the world on the road to intolerable suffering; that India was not alone in facing the specter of near famine, but that India could serve as a model for other developing countries facing like problems, if the Indian effort were adequately supported through international action.

All the countries we visited accepted the idea that food aid for Indian during this emergency should be viewed as an international responsibility. There was also broad agreement that the Indian consortium under the World Bank could provide an effective systematic basis for organizing such an international effort. The India consortium is already coordinating international efforts to help India fulfill its broad economic plans, including its plans for increased food production. It was recognized that adding food aid to the consortium's responsibilities would ensure that food aid needs are coordinated with India's other assistance requirements and with India's own economic development efforts, particularly those directed at increasing food production.

Finally, there was substantial agreement that emergency food aid for India should not be allowed to diminish the flow of resources coming forward under other developmental programs but should be in addition to existing targets for economic assistance. Everyone agreed that if the Indians have to use large quantities of their foreign exchange for food, India's strong programs of economic and agricultural development and trade liberalization would have to be suspended, thus ending India's hopes for achieving food sufficiency within the next five years. Consequently, those countries which are not food exporters could contribute cash to buy food, or fertilizer, pesticides or shipping to transport food or fertilizer on concessional terms, since such contributions in kind would release Indian foreign exchange to buy food.

Still another form of contribution would be to offer India relief from its mounting debt burden. Such relief, on generous terms, would not only free foreign exchange for food purchases, but would also help India to stave off a balance of payments crisis arising in large part as a result of the food shortages and droughts of the past two years.

But whatever form the contributions might take the important point is that such contributions must be additional to planned economic assistance targets, if India's progress toward self-sustaining growth and food self-sufficiency is to continue.

* * * * *

Nevertheless, in 1966, the United States still provided about 85 per cent of the grain made available to India on a concessional basis. We feel very strongly that other advanced nations will now have to carry more of the load than they have in the past. That is the idea underlying President Johnson's Consortium proposal for matching U.S. contributions. But we cannot expect these countries to take over the task of meeting half of India's food import needs immediately. Full matching of our concessional deliveries will not be possible this year. Many advanced nations which agree with the concept of burden-sharing have budgetary problems, or are in the midst of elections, or are unable to make additional aid available on short notice. Nonetheless the President's proposal is a clear move in the direction of greater burden-sharing, and we are working toward that objective.

Our efforts to secure a greater international response have not been limited to the Consortium countries we visited. We have also held discussions about the Indian food problem through regular diplomatic channels with the other Consortium members and with other interested governments. Indeed, our Government has approached a total of nineteen other governments in support of the President's call for an international food effort for India.

And the international response is growing. Several governments have announced additional emergency food aid in recent months. Last November Canada announced it would donate 150,000 tons of wheat plus some flour and dried milk immediately and an additional 661,000 tons of wheat, worth \$50 million, in the period from April 1967 to March 1968. Australia made a 150,000 ton grant of wheat in December and the Soviet Union made a 200,000 ton wheat gift that same month. The World Food Program donated 35,000 tons of wheat in December and also promised 82,500 tons of feed grain and 8,500 tons of dried milk powder as part of a long range development program. To mention a few other gifts, Norway and Sweden have announced fertilizer aid and the French Government has decided to donate milk powder.

We understand that some other governments have decided to make donations but have not yet formally announced their decisions. Still others, for reasons which the members of this Committee no doubt appre-

ciate, are still uncertain about the amount they can obtain from their legislatures. But two international meetings are expected within about a month's time to discuss the Indian food situation, and we should have a better idea of the extent of this international response after those meetings.

The advanced nations of the world have a responsibility in helping India to meet its food needs in this emergency. But as President Johnson stressed in his India Food Message, "none of these steps can be as important as Indian resolve and Indian performance." Secretary Freeman has just reviewed for you India's self-help program in some detail, and I know that you, Mr. Chairman, and others on this Committee, have examined this question very seriously. Therefore, I do not propose to discuss India's agricultural program at great length.

I should like, however, to stress several points. First, there does seem to be "light at the end of this tunnel."

The members of this committee have had great experience in agriculture; you all know now difficult it is to receive dramatic changes in agriculture in a very short time. Nevertheless, dramatic changes in policy and attitude have taken place in India during the past 2 years. The Indian Government's high priority for agriculture has been translated into appropriate budgetary allocations. The new emphasis on providing fertilizer and other badly needed inputs to the cultivator and on incentive prices for the farmer has been firmly established and seems to me to be irreversible. Unfortunately, the effects of the past two years of drought have masked these changes. But the results obtained from these new attitudes and policies in areas unaffected by the drought are encouraging and the prospects for the future, assuming good weather, are promising.

Second, I would like to take note in particular of the Indian Government's activities in the drought-stricken area in the states of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh.

The Central Government's grain deliveries to Bihar have been increased to 200,000 tons a month and to Uttar Pradesh to 90,000 tons. Previous deliveries were 100,000 tons and 66,000 tons respectively. Part of the increase came from the states in India which have a local grain surplus; part came from abroad. This permitted the increase of the ration covering 19 million people in the drought area from 4 ounces per day to 6 ounces, which is still well below subsistence level and represents only half of a man's normal daily requirement.

In order to increase the grain available for the drought area, the Indian Government reduced the weekly foodgrain ration by 12 per cent for 28 million people in other parts of India. A ration cut for additional millions is under consideration for the same purpose.

For India's landless laborers, crop failure means immediate unemployment and the suspension of income. For these people, left without money to buy food, the Bihar State Government has established public work projects. In December 1966, some 500,000 people were engaged on relief projects in Bihar. State officials estimate that 1.5 million people will be working on relief projects by the end of this year.

Other emergency food relief measures in the drought area include CARE meals for mothers and children, some additional milk for school children not covered by the CARE program, and distribution of multivitamin tablets—all directed to the most vulnerable segments of the population. In addition to CARE, the Church World Services, Catholic Relief, Lutheran World Services, and UNICEF are also operating in the drought-stricken areas. At the present time, 3.6 million mothers and children in Bihar are receiving assistance from the voluntary agencies. These agencies have shifted sup-

plies from other areas in order to step up their activities in the drought areas. Congressional approval of the \$25 million donation program will permit the expansion and continuation of these programs.

The food outlook in Bihar for the rest of this year depends on a variety of as yet unknown factors. If New Delhi can maintain 200,000 ton monthly grain shipments to Bihar and if the state's spring crop is adequate, widespread famine can be avoided. However, if the Central Government is unable to maintain the current flow of grain supplies to the area or if the spring crop is poor—and the failure of the normal winter rains indicates a poor crop—the situation will be touch and go until the area's major harvest in December. We are watching the situation closely because we recognize that it may be necessary to increase our donation program for the drought area; the \$25 million program may not be enough.

Third, one cannot speak of the Indian food problem without speaking of the population problem. And the action taken by the Indian Government makes it clear that India now fully appreciates the critical importance of family planning programs. In its new Fourth Five Year Plan, India proposed to devote four times as much money to family planning as was spent during the first three Five Year Plans combined. The right organizational steps are being taken as well. A separate sub-Cabinet level department has been established to be responsible for the administration of family planning programs. This department includes some of the high officials who ran India's most successful state family planning program in the Punjab. Thus far, the implementation of the program has been weak but we expect improved results with the more adequate funds and better direction which are now being provided.

Mr. Chairman, I believe the President's program, which follows in large measure the wise recommendations of your Congressional team, deserves the support of the Congress for a number of reasons. First and foremost, there is the humanitarian reason. People are hungry, very hungry, in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, and we have food to spare. The tradition of helping a neighbor in distress is strong in America, and this is a tradition we should live up to. As the President stated in his message, "We have never stood idly by while famine or pestilence raged among any part of the human family. America would cease to be America if we walked on the other side when confronted by such catastrophe."

Further, we believe that India is on the right track in its agricultural development program and that if we help India over this crisis, we will see its foodgrain import requirements drop as its agricultural development program takes hold. On the other hand, if we do not provide India with the foodgrain that the President has recommended, the Indian Government would be forced to spend more hard currency on food to prevent widespread starvation. In order to do this, the Indian Government would have to divert large amounts of hard currency, hundreds of millions of dollars, from its economic development plan. This would undermine programs which the United States Government, other Western governments, and the World Bank have encouraged and supported. It would be most unfortunate if this year's drought forced the Indian Government to postpone its economic development program.

Finally, by this new initiative, President Johnson proposes to use United States food aid as a basis for stimulating a greater international effort in the War on Hunger.

Similar efforts are also underway in other international forums. To form a basis for a long-range approach to the world food problem, the United States is proposing in the

Kennedy Round negotiations an international grains agreements containing a multilateral food aid program to be supported by grain exporters and importers alike.

And to facilitate the flow of fertilizer and other agricultural inputs so essential to increasing production in the developing world, the U.S. has urged the establishment of a food fund supported by OECD members and designed to encourage private investors in OECD countries to invest in agriculture and agriculture related industries in the developing world.

Through these efforts, the President is seeking to develop the habits of collective responsibility and collective action and the reflex sense of a common humanity, with the belief that such international partnerships are our best hope for future peace and progress.

For these reasons, Mr. Chairman, I hope that your committee will give the President's program its full support.

Mr. FINO. Mr. Chairman, I will support this resolution to continue food aid to India, but let me say, that I will be doing so with real misgivings.

I accept the argument that India is hungry. I also accept the idea that the world ought to help India. But I question the wisdom in sending food to India without insisting that the Indians try and develop a viable economy with the proper stress on agriculture and free enterprise instead of industry and socialism.

It is about time that the Indians learn that their programs for socialism and industrialization just have not worked. I think perhaps the recent elections are some indication of popular disenchantment. At least, I hope so. Something has to be done to shake India into affirmative and realistic action.

Mr. Chairman, today we are voting on a resolution to keep the food flowing to India. Meanwhile, food on the hoof is wandering around India, spreading disease. I refer to the sacred cows of India. India's predominantly Hindu population will not touch them. They will not kill them. This is part of the problem. India will not kill its sacred cows, physical or ideological. India cannot face the 20th century. Her traditions are diametrically opposed to reality and progress.

India must kill her sacred cows. India must kill the sacred cow of socialism. That sacred cow is just as burdensome to India as the dead cows in the streets of Calcutta and Bombay. India must also kill the sacred cow of immediate and rapid industrialization. India's future—or at least her immediate future—must be one of agricultural achievement. Nothing—I repeat, nothing—India can produce in factories can feed her starving masses.

So when I say that India must kill her sacred cows, I mean it in several ways. And I regret to say that I do not think that this country is exerting the firm hand that it must. It is all very well and good to give India food, but I think we owe it to the American taxpayer to give India some serious advice in addition. Somebody has to tell India to shape up and think and act in the 20th century.

We cannot go on feeding India forever. We have a right to expect India to begin to put her own house in order.

The measures she has begun to take are only a beginning.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Chairman, public reaction and newspaper comments from around the country lead me to believe that the latest food aid agreement with India is being well received by the American people.

One reason for this favorable reaction undoubtedly is the strong indication that India means business about undertaking self-help in meeting its own food needs.

Commenting on President Johnson's recent Indian food aid message, the Des Moines, Iowa, Register said:

India has already done a good many things in the past year toward solving a vast new problem: food rationing, incentives to get farmers to use artificial fertilizer and improved seeds and methods, improved rural credit. Better seed rice has been coming from Taiwan, better seed wheat from Mexico. Agreement has been reached on finance from abroad for the first of several fertilizer plants. Population control efforts have been stepped up.

From the Dayton, Ohio, News comes this observation:

Any idea that India is just bleeding and pleading in all this has been dispelled by reports from recent U.S. missions there. India has stamped agricultural development top priority.

The Gainesville, Fla., Sun had this to say:

The President's policy served a useful purpose. It let the rest of the world know that it must also share in the job. It told the Indians that they must move further along the path of building their own agriculture.

An interpretive story in the Kansas City, Mo., Star said:

President Johnson was saying aid no longer would proceed unlimited, or, in effect, that our grain shipments would not continue to expand as they had in recent years because other nations are going to have to help.

When Congress enacted the new food aid legislation last year, it included the provision that self-help would be a condition of receiving such aid. It is heartening to see the spirit of this provision being carried out so genuinely in the first Indian agreement under the new program.

The Department of Agriculture's official announcement of the first grain agreement with India under the new program lists major targets of the Government of India for 1967-68 which will help meet the self-help provisions of the new law, as follows:

A 4-billion-rupee—\$533 million—investment in agriculture;

Fertilizer production of 535,000 nutrient tons of nitrogen and 150,000 tons of phosphate;

Fertilizer imports of 850,000 nutrient tons of nitrogen, 350,000 ton of phosphate, and 300,000 tons of potassium;

A total of 15 million acres under new varieties of seed;

One hundred twenty-five million acres sprayed for crop protection;

Increase of 3 million acres in minor irrigation and concentration on use of irrigation for intensive production;

An increase of 1 billion rupees—\$133 million—in Government rural credit; and

Increase of total commodity storage capacity by 1.35 million tons.

The Indian Government has also agreed to take the following actions: First, timely announcement of price support levels to encourage greater production; second, increased end-of-year Government grain stocks through price supports; third, development of a national food distribution policy; and fourth, accelerate domestic production capacity for fertilizer and other agricultural inputs.

From the testimony of congressional and other observers who have been in India of late, there can be no doubt that that hard-pressed land is giving agricultural development top priority. It is imposing food rationing, streamlining food distribution methods, giving incentives to farmers, expanding rural credit, and raising grain storage capacity.

It is sometimes overlooked that these measures have already begun to have beneficial effects. Overall, the situation is blighted by a second straight year of drought. But in states not affected by the drought, production is said to be well above that of any previous year.

India is also stepping up family planning and has agreed to use a significant part of the rupees generated by the new food aid agreement for family planning programs so important to halt the growth of its population.

An article in the official India News reports that the birth rate in India is showing decline in certain areas where accurate statistics are available.

The News quotes Dr. Sushila Nayer, Health Minister, as saying that the immediate task of the family planning program is to reduce the birth rate to 25 per thousand as soon as possible by popularizing family planning methods, including education for raising the age of marriage and voluntary sterilization.

The article says there are more than 20,000 family welfare planning centers of various types in the country and the number of IUCD users exceeded 1 million, and voluntary sterilization operations more than 1.5 million.

The future of India is of vital concern to this Nation on both political and humanitarian grounds. We can all take heart from the obvious sincerity with which the Government of India is undertaking to carry an ever greater share of its own burden, while putting our grain to good use to stave off famine.

India faces a rough road ahead. It has a long way to go before its food problem will be solved. But it is off to an encouraging start, and I think we can look to its future with hope.

The articles referred to follow:

[From the Des Moines (Iowa) Register, Feb. 14, 1967]

EFFECTIVE AID FOR INDIA

Sharing food with the hungry is one of the oldest and best of American traditions. In President Johnson's recent message to Congress on food for India, he called it "the first obligation of the community of man," and said the duty extended to rich and poor nations, food-surplus and food-shortage nations. "The United States," he said "is prepared to do its share."

Three million of the five million tons of food grain for India proposed in the presidential message is dependent on assent of

Congress and "appropriate matching" by other countries. The whole emphasis of the plan is multi-national, with the India Aid Consortium of the World Bank the major channel. The plan includes emergency aid now, but relies for the future on strenuous efforts by India to help itself—by population control, by better organization of distribution, by much greater food production in India itself.

This approach may seem cold and hard-hearted, but it is not. India's problem is too serious to be met any other way. Two years of short crops are only a small part of the trouble. The main thing wrong is that India produces far too little food and far too many people.

When India was newly independent, it "solved" its food problem in one year by building a single fertilizer factory. This turned it from a food-deficit country harassed by periodic famines into a country where there was enough food to go around for everyone if properly distributed. The solution did not last long, because of population growth, but the approach was sound as far as it went.

Under pressure from the international consortium, India has already done a good many things in the past year toward solving the vast new problem: food rationing, incentives to get farmers to use artificial fertilizer and improved seeds and methods, improved rural credit. Better seed rice has been coming from Taiwan, better seed wheat from Mexico. Agreement has been reached on finance from abroad for the first of several fertilizer plants. Population control efforts have been stepped up.

Much remains to be done, and the consortium intends to keep pressure on India to do its share—which is the greatest share—while helping judiciously from outside.

This is by far the most humane and effective way to help. Here is a gigantic piece of foreign policy far removed from the power struggle and the arms race. Capitalists, socialists, traditionalists and—if the wish—Communist can work together to help the government and people of India make their huge section of the world a better place. Here is a program which deserves full support and understanding of both parties and all factions in Congress and among the American people.

[From the Dayton (Ohio) News, Feb. 13, 1967]

BOLD NEW ATTACK ON INDIA'S HUNGER

In what could be labeled one of the most elegant and humanitarian addresses ever presented to Congress, President Johnson asked for indorsement of an international program to stave off famine in drouth-plagued, food-short India.

The President said the United States would ship two million tons of grain to India immediately and asked approval for another three-million-ton shipment. This food tonnage, added to that already sent by America and other nations in the help-India consortium, will see that populous Asian country over the 1967 hump.

Realizing food aid is "stop-gap, not a permanent cure," the President called upon the international community to organize for collective food aid action, to promote agricultural self-help, to develop a long-range food program to meet India's problem. There are encouraging signs that nations around the world are picking up the challenge in India and preparing for the first major test in the food-population war.

Any idea that India is just bleeding and pleading in all this has been dispelled by reports from recent U.S. missions there. India has stamped agricultural development top priority. The country is imposing food rationing, streamlining food distribution methods, giving incentives to farmers, stepping up family planning, working on new fertilizer plants, expanding rural credit, seek-

ing agricultural advisers. Could any nation with some citizens living on roots and grass do any less?

Why does America dig deep into its dwindling grain bins to feed India? Why does it accept leadership in supplying food to this hungry nation? Because, as President Johnson said, "America would cease to be America if we walked by on the other side when confronted by such catastrophe."

[From the Gainesville (Fla.) Sun, Feb. 12, 1967]

THE DIFFICULT PROBLEM OF FEEDING INDIA

In recent months, President Johnson has—rightly, we believe—tightened strings on U. S. food aid to India. As a result, he was criticized for humiliating—a word used by the New York Times—the government of India shortly before a national Indian election by putting the aid on almost a month-to-month basis.

We think, however, that the President's policy served a useful purpose. It let the rest of the world know that it must also share in the job. It told the Indians that they must move further along the path of building their own agriculture.

In releasing two million tons of grain for shipment to India, the President last week mentioned plans to channel future aid through a 12-nation consortium. The President's references to this consortium seemed vague, and well they should, for there is yet no suitable mechanism for bringing into international aid plans the other major food-producing countries. Such a scheme is presently part of the discussions in the Kennedy round trade negotiations—but it is far from certain yet what will emerge.

But even if a food aid system is developed in the Kennedy round, it would not involve the Soviet Union, which demonstrated in 1966 its great food-producing potential. The President's action last week in charting food aid to India for longer than a month-to-month basis will be welcomed by those who objected to the short-term policy, but solutions to the dual problems of India self-sufficiency and a workable international food aid system still seem somewhat distant.

[From the Kansas City (Mo.) Star, Feb. 12, 1967]

SELF-HELP GOAL OF U.S. AID CURB

(By Roderick Turnbull)

Careful reading of the text of the message President Johnson sent to Congress on food for India may suggest to farmers what the official position of the U.S. will be in the future toward donations of grain to needy nations.

In brief, the President explained that while this country would continue to help underdeveloped nations, the brakes were on to the extent that the U.S. would not carry the whole load and the recipient countries would have to do more to help themselves.

Another interpretation might be that President Johnson was saying aid no longer would proceed unlimited, or, in effect, that our grain shipments would not continue to expand as they had in recent years because other nations are going to have to help.

Already some farm interests are sensing that the market for U.S. food grains will be curtailed by the policy outlined. The National Grange last week complained that the President's emergency allotment to India was too small. This allotment was 2 million tons, of which 1,200,000 was wheat and the other 800,000 was milo. In total, the grain shipments to India this calendar year will be 6,600,000 tons, compared with 8,300,000 in the calendar year 1966.

The Grange complaint was that the allocation for India was about 4 million tons less than the projections used to justify the second increase of 15 per cent in the wheat acreage allotment last summer. In essence,

the Grange said that farmers were asked to increase their plantings of wheat on an assumption of exports greater than now will be possible under the President's allocations to India.

Harry L. Graham, Grange legislative representative, wrote agricultural leaders in Congress that the new commitment to India was a threat to the adequacy of minimum diet requirement for the people of that nation and also a "threat to the wheat price levels of American farmers."

The President, however, carefully explained, that this government was putting new emphasis on joining with other nations in helping India. Also, it is determined that India must extend its efforts to feed itself. What he said of India also applies to other needy nations now getting U.S. aid.

"There is no substitute for self-help," Johnson said. "The first responsibility of each nation is to supply the food its people need. The war against hunger can only be won by the efforts of the developing nations themselves. Food aid is a stop-gap, not a cure. It must be viewed as part of a nation's effort to achieve sufficiency in food, not as a substitute for it."

Continuing, the President said:

"Agriculture must receive a much higher priority in development plans and programs. The developing nations can no longer take food supplies for granted, while they concentrate on industrial development alone, or spend vitally needed resources on unnecessary military equipment.

"Agricultural development must be planned as part of a nation's overall economic and social program. Achieving a balance between population and resources is as important as achieving balance between industrial and agricultural growth.

"Fertilizer, seed and pesticides must be provided in much greater quantities than ever before. . . .

"All advanced nations, including those which import food, must share the burden of feeding the hungry and building their capacity to feed themselves."

The President went on to explain that this country had been discussing world food problems with other nations through the United Nations Food and Agriculture organization and other international groups. He said the pattern of international co-operation had improved steadily. Canada currently is giving India 150,000 tons of wheat, Australia 150,000 tons and the Soviet Union 200,000 tons. This grain joins the 1,600,000 tons from the United States that already is in the pipeline to India.

From now on, President Johnson specified, this nation's food aid policy will be to make it a part of a multilateral assistance program (along with other nations).

He then said the best present estimate was that India would have to import 10 million tons of food grains this year. Already, 2,300,000 million tons are in the pipeline, from this country and others. In total, more than 6 million tons of the 10 million that India needs would come from the U.S. The remainder would be supplied by other nations.

Apparently, while the President has made it clear what the United States will do, the other nations which are expected to help have not publicly stated their positions. So there still is an "if" in Johnson's program. However, in his message he made no mention of alternative plans should the other nations renege in any way.

By every implication, what the President said was that the United States was willing to bear a heavy share of the load of feeding India and other needy nations but that it would be government policy to insist that this be an international effort.

The implication, too, was that this country was attempting to draw a line on how much it would continue to give away from its

grain stocks. No mention was made, of course, of limiting dollar export sales in any way.

The grain market was in a sort of doldrums last week, with little news to bring about reactions one way or another. First-hand owners of grain were selling very little; buyers were not actively trying to make purchases.

One Chicago grain firm commented that the time was ripe for reports to begin coming in of kills on the wheat crop in certain localities. At the Kansas City Board of Trade, some were saying that such reports would almost certainly be coming from Southwest Kansas and adjacent areas unless moisture came soon.

It is an amazing situation, some were contending, that the crop in much of the Plains area has been holding on month after month without adequate moisture. Something is bound to give some day, either the arrival of the needed moisture or the reports of crop failure.

Mr. SMITH of Iowa. Mr. Chairman, I urge passage of House Joint Resolution 267 to support emergency food assistance to India for two reasons.

The first is the overwhelming necessity for such aid immediately, a need occasioned by 2 successive years of widespread drought on the subcontinent, subsequent crop failures and the drawdown of grain reserves.

The second is that India has made impressive progress in building its own agricultural plant and, in my belief, we should give assistance to allow her to continue this vital job.

In the past year a food rationing system has been imposed, transportation has been improved and prices paid to Indian farmers have been increased, providing more incentives to use fertilizer and improved technology.

Agriculture, I understand, now has top priority in India's economic plans. The Indian Government plans to increase public investment in agriculture by more than 100 percent during the new 5-year plan.

As part of this new effort, rural credit will be expanded, water supplies will be improved and the distribution of fertilizer to remote rural areas will be accelerated.

This is one side of the food-population equation. On the other side, I understand that India is planning to step up its other services to bring future population into better balance with available resources.

Members know that much more needs to be done by the Indians themselves. But the evidence is unmistakable that India has started on the right path. Their government is aware that cooperation among the eight Indian state governments needs to be improved and that much more effort needs to be made in the future, before self-sufficiency in food is achieved.

House Joint Resolution 267, it seems to me, both recognizes the greater efforts needed on the subcontinent, and, at the same time, offers our support in providing the needed grains to meet the immediate and pressing problems occasioned by the two worst droughts in recent Indian history.

The aid which would be provided by this resolution, plus that of other nations, will allow the Indians to continue

the very real progress they have made so far, and to avoid a catastrophic interruption of the worthwhile projects now underway, an interruption that would surely occur in the face of widespread famine.

Mr. ANDERSON of Tennessee. Mr. Chairman, the present food situation in India is acute. During the 1965-66 crop year, the subcontinent experienced its most disastrous monsoon season in nearly a century. The failure of the rains was fairly uniform all over India. Total food-grain production dropped from 89 million tons, during the 1964-65 year, to little more than 72 millions tons last year.

As a result, food consumption of food grains per person per year had to be cut from some 187.7 kilograms to 175 kilograms and stocks accumulated in the previous year drawn down by more than 4 million tons.

The situation this year is no less critical. Again, the monsoon rains failed, this time largely in northern India. Food-grain production is estimated at some 78.5 million tons, up 6 million tons from last year, but still 10½ million tons short of the 1964-65 crops.

This is the situation which precipitated the President's message on India food of February 2. It is the same situation which the able and distinguished gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE] and the gentleman from Kansas [Mr. DOLE] witnessed and investigated in depth during the holiday season, and reported on to this House.

The urgency of the need of the Indian people is such that the United States has already committed some 3.6 million tons of grain as part of the 8 to 10 million tons of imports needed by India during calendar year 1967.

These on-going efforts are noted in House Joint Resolution 267, and further efforts are called for.

We would provide an additional amount of food grains not to exceed 3 million tons, providing this amount is appropriately matched, and support allocation of some \$190 million of funds available to the Commodity Credit Corporation to accomplish this purpose.

We would recommend that the President provide an additional \$25 million of emergency food relief for distribution in India by CARE and other American voluntary agencies.

In addition, we would endorse U.S. participation with other countries, and with multilateral organizations, to provide India with both food aid and the tools and technical knowledge to become self-sufficient in food production. This self-sufficiency is absolutely vital in meeting the long-range food needs of her population.

Mr. Chairman, I endorse House Joint Resolution 267 and urge its passage.

Mr. PURCELL. Mr. Chairman, while the immediate future of food aid to India has been brightened by the first agreement under the new Public Law 480—an agreement which will provide 2 million tons of U.S. grain to meet India's most urgent food needs—we must not lose sight of the fact that the Indians still face a precarious food situation.

During the past 5 years, they have had only one good crop year. The India News Service issued here in the United States characterizes the current situation as "no less grave than a threat of external aggression."

India's ability to import some 10 million tons of grain in the past year—more than 8 million tons of it from the United States—averted a major national calamity. The Indians had hoped that another year of heavy imports would not be necessary. The failure of rains during the summer crop season, however, has largely dispelled these hopes, and India must continue for the foreseeable future on virtually a war footing to feed its people.

The President, the administration, and the Congress have made it abundantly plain that the people of the United States intend to help India with its food problem. I think the American public and press are generally in agreement with this commitment.

Says the Houston, Tex., Chronicle on this point:

India may seem remote from America's shores, but we have a big stake in her future. Unlike the other Asian giant, Red China, India has chosen the way of freedom. If India can improve the life of her people, then the free world will have won an enormous victory. If India fails, then Asia's millions may conclude that democracy cannot work outside of Europe and America.

From the Paris, Tex., News come these words:

India's plight remains our concern because, as the President said, 'the first obligation of the community of man is to provide food for all of its members.' We can hope that in time India may conquer her immense problems, and we should insist that she work toward doing this. In the meantime, we cannot let her people starve.

But the challenge of Indian food aid is far beyond the capacity of our Nation to solve alone. As the President said:

All advanced nations—including those which import foods—must share the burden of feeding the hungry and building their capacity to feed themselves.

The President's proposal that an India Food Aid Consortium be brought into the picture to combine our efforts with those of other countries appears to offer a practical approach.

There is already in existence an India Aid Consortium, composed of Austria, Belgium, Canada, France, West Germany, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, and the United States. With the World Bank as chairman, it has been helping India with foreign exchange problems since 1958.

As Secretary Freeman pointed out in his testimony on the India resolution:

The proposed integrating of Indian food aid with broader programs of economic assistance, and with capital and technical assistance for agricultural development, can provide a much stronger helping hand that India must have if it is to cope successfully with its mountainous problems of too little food for a large and growing population.

A good start has already been made in the direction of an international program to help India avoid starvation. Canada has contributed approximately 200,000 tons, Australia has granted 150,-

000 tons and sold another 150,000 tons, and the Soviet Union has made a grant of 200,000 tons of grain. This grain is already in the pipeline, along with 1,600,000 tons from the United States.

I am confident there will be other contributions of grain and that there will be cash contributions as well by nations which do not have grain available to contribute.

The problem of India today is the age-old problem of the underfed—multiplied and aggravated by the country's great size and by its strategic location in a tense and troubled world. It is a problem in which many nations have a stake and with which many nations must help.

The articles referred to follow:

[From the Houston, Tex., Chronicle, Feb. 11, 1967]

A SYMBOL OF INDIA'S AGONY

The rock which struck Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in the face as she addressed a crowd of hecklers is symbolic of the agonizing problems which grip India.

This world's biggest and poorest democracy is in the throes of its fourth general election since India gained independence in 1947. Crisis besets the land on every side. There are too many people and too little food. Famine threatens millions. Corruption in Mrs. Gandhi's ruling Congress Party is rampant. Widespread ignorance and ancient religious tradition impedes attempts at reform.

That Mrs. Gandhi, her nose bleeding and her lip bruised, was forced to leave a political meeting under a hail of stones indicates how the situation has deteriorated. Mrs. Gandhi unfortunately doesn't possess the mystical quality of her late, revered father, Jawaharlal Nehru, who so inspired his people. Her leadership is being seriously challenged.

She promises her countrymen no easy solutions, for there are none. In her campaign appearances, she tries to reason with her people, explaining to them why their life is hard. She recalls India's struggle for freedom and warns that a still greater struggle lies ahead. "If we fight together in the same way we will give a new, better life to our children and grandchildren," she tells them.

India may seem remote from America's shores, but we have a big stake in her future. Unlike the other Asian giant, Red China, India has chosen the way of freedom. If India can improve the life of her people, then the free world will have won an enormous victory. If India fails, then Asia's millions may conclude that democracy cannot work outside of Europe and America.

The United States is helping, of course. Our grain shipments have prevented mass starvation. And, as President Johnson pointed out recently, India is not alone in facing the specter of famine. Half the world's people face this same problem.

The rock which struck Mrs. Gandhi is an ugly reminder that hungry, demoralized people cannot wait forever.

[From the Paris (Tex.) News, Feb. 9, 1967]

INDIA'S PLIGHT, OUR PROBLEM

President Johnson has requested additional shipments of wheat to India to state off impending starvation. Actually, the President has little choice in the matter—the feeding of India has come to be regarded by the world as our burden, rightly or wrongly.

But someday, perhaps soon, the United States must lay this burden aside—or at least find others with which to share it. Our grain surpluses are disappearing, for one thing. For another, the continued de-

pendency of India on us for food really is not best for India.

The President, of course, recognizes this. Earlier we concluded our long-term agreement to aid India; the present request is well below aid sent to India last year. The problem is how to go about shifting the burden or—most desirably—make India able to feed herself.

To solve this, the President is holding down grain shipments to India, while trying to make them contingent on proof from India that she is doing everything possible to develop her own food production capacity. Additionally, we are attempting to obtain the pledges of other nations to assist India. Australia, in particular, recognizes the merits of this approach.

India's plight remains our concern because, as the President said, "the first obligation of the community of man is to provide food for all of its members." We can hope that in time India may conquer her immense problems, and we should insist that she work toward doing this. In the meantime, we cannot let her people starve.

In addition, Mr. Chairman, in order to get a balanced view of this picture, I think I should insert at this point the remarks I made in our committee hearings on this resolution with regard to food aid to India:

First, I would say that I thoroughly agree with the basic approach to this problem which the distinguished chairman stated on Wednesday on India. The chairman characterized India as an applicant for public welfare. He stated that India has not made the kind of effort he would expect to be made by a private citizen of his community toward doing what he could to solve his own problems before requesting aid from others. India could and should do much more than has been done in this regard. My concern is, as has just been expressed by the chairman, based on domestic wheat prices which might result from our nation being locked into a position which limits our export possibilities. I believe that I share the concern of the National Grange, if I have understood your statement correctly, Mr. Graham. This is a matter, basically, of our own self-interest.

I am not suggesting at this point that we either reject or modify the resolution now under consideration. I believe it is important that we carefully study the prospect for wheat production in the United States during 1967 and the total wheat disappearance we can expect. A very close balance, it seems to me, is most important here in order that we do have adequate supplies and carry-over, and in order that an over-supply does not drag down the price of wheat to the American farmer.

In other words, I am always concerned about doing all that we can to feed hungry people wherever they are, provided they are interested in doing their part. I am also deeply interested in expanding agricultural exports. My first responsibility, however, must be to those American citizens who use their land, equipment money, and labor to produce this food supply.

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Chairman, I rise to urge the adoption of House Joint Resolution 267, to support emergency food assistance to India.

I view the legislation now being considered on the floor with a vivid recollection of the tragic scenes I witnessed during my visit to India in December of 1965. In Calcutta, for example, of its 3 million people, 250,000 were then without food or shelter. Men, women, and children, and even infants, slept along the highways at night, with hardly any clothing on their backs and without food

in their stomachs. As I walked along the streets of that dismal city during the day, I was approached by begging children who looked more like animated skeletons than human beings. Although I had been advised not to do so by American consular and Indian officials, I could not help but dig into my pockets for whatever rupees I happened to have to give to those children.

It was in the wake of these facts and circumstances that I firmly resolved that I would do everything within my influence and capabilities to bring relief to the starving peoples of India.

I supported a similar measure in the last session of Congress which provided for this Nation's participation and support in relieving the hunger of India's starving millions, and I welcome again the opportunity to cast my vote in favor of continuing such food assistance.

Mr. Chairman, in approving this legislation we ought to take great pride that Americans are humanitarian by nature. It is abundantly clear that in providing this assistance to India we are not seeking any gain or advantage, economic or otherwise, but that we are simply lending assistance to our fellow human beings who are in dire need. And as long as we are blessed by the Almighty more than our neighbors, should we not continue to share those blessings with those in real need?

There appears to be little doubt that world history will record as being particularly noteworthy the fact that the United States in this era of India's greatest need, came so quickly and generously to her assistance in order to relieve the grave famine confronting her people. And history will also note that the action that was taken by the Congress last year and the action that will be taken by this body today were entirely consistent with our national humanitarian outlook and the image of our great Nation.

Mr. Chairman, upon adoption today of this joint resolution, and I have every confidence as to the favorable outcome of the vote on the measure, I shall go home tonight and sleep a little better, knowing that the starving children of Calcutta will be provided with food from the United States.

Mr. SCHEUER. Mr. Chairman, 2 years of serious drought in India have intensified the need of her people for continued food assistance from the United States. In addition to the grain now being shipped, the President has asked Congress to authorize 3 million more tons to be equally matched by other countries.

This humanitarian move on the part of the administration should be supported. However, more recent estimates raise the question whether even this will be enough. We hope that the intent of this legislation is to provide as fully as we can for India's needs in the face of adverse weather conditions, and that if more is needed the United States will respond generously.

While it is highly desirable that other countries should contribute as much as they are able, either in grain, fertilizer, or money, should the U.S. participation be tied firmly to equal matching?

Should not our country do what is required to meet this disaster condition, even if other countries are not able to fully match the proposed 3 million tons? Present prospects for the 1967 wheat crop in the United States, according to Harry Graham in testimony before the House Agriculture Committee in the hearings on the India food crisis, may be the largest in U.S. history. Let us not play arithmetic with human misery. Let us rather demonstrate what the American people can do to prevent the starvation of millions of people in India.

The long-term solution, of course, requires greatly enlarged food production in India, drastic reduction in the rate of population growth, and more rapid economic development. It is to America's self-interest as well as an expression of our humanitarian impulses that the United States should both aid generously in this long-term program and respond now adequately from the agricultural abundance with which we are blessed.

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Chairman, we are all concerned about the world food shortage, and we have heard many proposals to alleviate that shortage and avert world hunger. Today we are discussing emergency action to prevent famine in India. Approval of Joint Resolution 267 is of the utmost importance in meeting India's immediate needs.

Today I would like to enter some brief remarks about two longer range factors in the war on hunger which have not had the attention they deserve.

The first factor—enlisting the private sector of the economy in the war on hunger—ties directly with the second—meeting the protein deficiency in the hungry nations.

In his message on India, the President pointed out that the war on hunger is too big for governments alone. He said:

Victory cannot come unless businessmen, universities, foundations, voluntary agencies and cooperatives join the battle.

There is the practical matter of money, and investment capital comes, for the most part, from private business—and not from the Government. This is the first factor.

And now for the second. There are two kinds of hunger, each as insidious as the other. Caloric hunger is the more familiar, but nutritional hunger causes the deaths of millions of children each year and contributes to the poor health of millions of surviving adults.

Protein malnutrition can inflict hidden damage, because children who do not get adequate protein in their diets may suffer permanent physical and mental damage.

The Department of Agriculture is now working with the U.S. food processors in developing commercial ventures to manufacture of otherwise provide protein foods suited for the less developed countries.

The Department believes that the two main approaches to improving the world's protein food supply will be fortification of cereal grains to improve their protein content, and development of commercial protein food industries within the less developed countries themselves.

For maximum immediate usefulness, protein quality must be improved without materially changing the basic cooking patterns or eating habits of the users. If entirely new foods are developed, they must be acceptable to the ethnic groups expected to use them—as well as being nutritionally adequate.

This month, the Pillsbury Co. of Minneapolis, contracted with the Agency for International Development to study the acceptability of newly developed protein food supplements from cottonseed, peanuts, and soybeans in El Salvador. These, as well as other protein-rich crops, can be grown throughout Central America.

Dr. Aaron Altschul, Secretary Freeman's special assistant for international nutrition improvement, has pointed out the potential for American soft-drink producers who could develop drinks that might prove profitable, acceptable, and nutritious for other parts of the world.

He cites the example of Vita-Soy, a drink made from soybean extracts which now appears to be a commercial success in Hong Kong. Competitive in price with conventional soft drinks, this high protein beverage appears to be outselling even the popular cola drinks. It has a pleasant soy-like taste acceptable in Hong Kong, is made from materials readily available, and was developed locally.

Mr. Chairman, these are the kinds of actions and imaginative projects, jointly undertaken by the private and public sectors, that are as needed in the longer range war on hunger as passage of House Joint Resolution 267 is needed in the short run.

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, in India there are eight agricultural universities modeled after the land-grant colleges of the United States, and it would be difficult to overstate the extent of their contribution to the herculean effort India is making to achieve a food sufficiency by possibly as early as 1971. That goal may not be reached, but India is making the effort with real determination.

They with other specialized institutes sponsored by the Indian Council of Agricultural Research are carrying on extensive programs of research and experimentation. By 1972 it is expected there will be between 2 and 3 million tons of nitrogen fertilizer available from Indian plants compared with the 300,000 tons available at the present time. Moreover, India has planted over 5 million acres with new high-yielding seeds, and continued progress in irrigation, now serving a fourth of the usable land in India, contributes to the hopeful picture that the end of India's food shortage may be not too far distant.

Rapid rise in India's population has presented a problem equally as vexatious as that of food shortage. In 1961 the annual birth rate in India was 42 per 1,000 population and the annual death rate was 16 per 1,000 population. This meant that every year the 500 million population of India was increased another 12 million people.

Present Indian family planning targets call for an early drop in the birthrate to 25 per 1,000 population. While India has

an able commission of family planning, the implementation of the family planning program is the responsibility of each state. Thus the central government is working constantly to stimulate effort on the part of the states.

I think, Mr. Chairman, I have said enough to dispel the thought in some quarters that India has been derelict in seeking to meet her own problems. I would say, Mr. Chairman, India is making a very satisfactory contribution in research, in effort, and in downright work.

India and the United States both are fortunate that the Ambassador of the United States to India is our own former colleague in this body, the Honorable Chester Bowles, with whom it was my high privilege and happiness to serve on the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States. I am told by visitors returning from India that Chester Bowles is as highly and affectionately regarded by the men and women of India as he was by his colleagues in this body and that his great popularity is shared by his charming and dedicated wife. I think it is fitting that I should make this observation at this time when the body of which Chester Bowles was a Member is voting as surely he would have voted were he still here.

Mr. GALLAGHER. Mr. Chairman, I rise to add my voice to those who support the continuance of American food aid to the Government of India. Our continued support of the Government of India is both vital to our interests and to our position as a world leader, and increasingly urgent for the stability and continued freedom of India.

In the last 15 years the American people have provided India with \$2.9 billion in development loans and \$392 million in outright grants, of which almost \$100 million was for technical assistance and close to \$300 million for project assistance. In addition, the United States has delivered \$4.7 billion in foodgrains, cotton and other agricultural fibers, one-fourth of which has been in outright grants. Total American aid amounts to \$7.3 billion. This is about three-fifths of the economic assistance that India has received from the entire world.

America's interest in India is, however, not based solely or considered only in terms of our own economic advantage. Our investments in the future of India represent an investment in the future stability and security of the free world. The assistance we have given to India has helped to modernize her railroads, sharply increase her electric power capacity, strengthened her educational system, practically eliminated malaria, helped her to develop her mineral resources and to stimulate her industrial growth.

This almost unbelievable accomplishment on the part of the Government of India is not only obvious from the official reports we receive from our able and hard-working Ambassador, the Honorable Chester Bowles, but it is observable in the person of the individual Indian Citizen. On a recent trip to India I observed a great deal of self-assuredness and self-confidence in the ever

more sophisticated Indian political and civil personnel. To this extent, our aid has been worth ten times the money we have actually spent.

However, this encouraging situation in India is tenuously maintained. India, though outwardly showing signs of being an industrial country, is still, and basically, overpopulated and underfed.

Last year's famine in India dramatized the dependance of the food deficient countries on American grain. This year's famine places in jeopardy the very political stability and viability that we have for so long encouraged in India. The original food-for-peace plan was intended to meet just this kind of problem while simultaneously trying to prepare the food deficient countries to meet the problems by themselves. Its aim was to encourage the underdeveloped countries to save themselves from starvation by their own efforts.

India, until last year's drought, was on her way to strengthening her economy on her own. Now, the drought has prohibited her from continuing on this road. Her immediate and most pressing problem now is to avoid and prevent the starvation of her people.

For the past 15 years American assistance to India has had a direct and clear purpose: it is designed to help India become an economically self-sufficient and politically viable country.

Such an India will make its own massive contribution to world peace by demonstrating to the people of Asia, Africa, and Latin America that democracy can achieve what totalitarianism—either Communist or Fascist—can never achieve: a society both prosperous and free.

If we in the United States do not come to the aid of this country in a moment of dire necessity, then we cannot claim to be the greatest and richest country in the world. If we deny these people the food with which to fight hunger and the faith with which to fight oppression then we cannot claim to be a country in whose hands the fate of the world lies.

Food aid to India is not only a necessity for the people of India, it is an obligation for the people of America. The President's proposals are both wise and effective. Moreover, they represent an encouraging step toward the internationalization of responsibility and the eradication of the fear of starvation for the peoples of the world. I believe it to be one of man's "last and great hopes" for the establishment of a free and prosperous future.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, I would like to remind the Members of the Congress at a time, when their efforts and energies are being directed at the problems that confront America's relation to India, of the inspiring and dedicated work that our Ambassador, Chester Bowles, has been and is doing for our country and for the people of India. His long and continued interest in India has served to spotlight the many faceted problems which we have faced as friends of India and which the Indians have faced as a growing and developing country. His concern for people of the less-developed countries in general and the Indian people in particular must stand

as a reminder to us that our relations with the many countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America must be based as much on personal relations as on financial assistance. At this time, and in conclusion, I would like to express my own personal thanks to Ambassador Bowles both for his excellent guidance and his continued service to our country.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will read.

The Clerk read as follows:

H.J. RES. 267

Whereas the Congress has declared it to be the policy of the United States to combat hunger and malnutrition and to encourage economic development in the developing countries; and

Whereas two years of drought have caused a grave food shortage in India which threatens the lives and health of millions of people; and

Whereas the urgency of the need of the Indian people and the time needed for congressional deliberation have required the United States already to commit three million six hundred thousand tons of grain valued at \$275,000,000 as a part of the eight to ten million tons of grain estimated to be required during the calendar year 1967 from outside India to prevent irreparable hardship to the people of India, including \$25,000,000 emergency food relief for distribution by CARE and other American voluntary agencies; and

Whereas the programs of economic and agricultural development which have been launched by the Government of India would be seriously impaired if the international community failed to act promptly and on an adequate scale to meet the urgent needs of the people of India: Therefore be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Congress approves the participation of the United States in cooperation with other countries and with multilateral organizations, including the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, the Food and Agricultural Organization, and others, in urgent international efforts designed to—

(a) develop a comprehensive self-help approach to the war on hunger based on a fair sharing of the burden among the nations of the world;

(b) encourage and assist the Government of India in achieving food self-sufficiency; and

(c) help meet India's critical food and nutritional needs by making available agricultural commodities or other resources needed for food procurement or production.

The Congress endorses the President's policy of equal participation on the part of the United States with all other nations, under terms and conditions set forth in Public Law 480, as amended, in assisting the Government of India to meet these needs.

Further, the Congress recommends, on the basis of estimates now available, that the United States provide an additional amount of food grain not to exceed three million tons at an estimated cost of \$190,000,000 as the United States share toward meeting the India food deficit, provided it is appropriately matched, and specifically extends its support to the allocation of approximately \$190,000,000 of funds available to the Commodity Credit Corporation in calendar year 1967 which will be required to accomplish this purpose.

The Congress further recommends that the President provide an additional \$25,000,000 of emergency food relief for distribution by CARE and other American voluntary agencies.

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the first committee amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

On page 2, lines 7 and 8, strike the word "Agricultural" and insert in lieu thereof the word "Agriculture".

The committee amendment was agreed to.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. FINDLEY

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Chairman, I offer an amendment.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, there are two additional committee amendments to the preamble.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair will inform the gentleman they cannot be considered until the body of the resolution has been perfected, at which time they will be considered.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. FINDLEY: On page 3, after line 2, add the following paragraph:

"Because uncertainty in connection with Public Law 480 transactions tends to depress market prices, it is the sense of Congress that, in carrying out this aid to India program, the administration should make announcements of intention, purchases and shipments of commodities on schedules and under circumstances which will protect and strengthen farm market prices to the maximum extent possible."

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Illinois is recognized.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FINDLEY. I yield to the gentleman from Texas.

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Chairman, while, of course, I cannot speak for the committee officially, the gentleman has tendered the amendment to the chairman and we have discussed it. We feel there is nothing improper about the amendment and as far as we are concerned, we will be glad to accept it.

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the comments of the gentleman.

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FINDLEY. I yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Chairman, I agree with the gentleman from Texas. I have had the opportunity to examine this amendment. As far as I know, there is no opposition to it from the committee members on this side of the aisle.

(Mr. FINDLEY asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Chairman, the purpose of this amendment is to encourage the administration to announce all details concerning Public Law 480 transactions as far in advance as possible, so farmers and traders can plan accordingly.

In recent months the uncertainty of administration intentions concerning aid to India undoubtedly contributed to the unexpected decline in wheat market prices.

I hope that the Congress will soon establish regulations to give more specific protection to markets in this respect. Public Law 480 handles commodities in such giant quantities that the man who calls the signals, namely the Secretary

of Agriculture, is able thereby to manipulate prices to the disadvantage of farmers and sometimes does.

Adverse price fixing is certainly something farmers can get along without. The parity ratio has dropped to 74, and the Economic Research Service of USDA recently predicted a 5-percent decline in farm income will occur during 1967. This means the cost-price squeeze is hitting farmers doubly hard, and they do not deserve to be made the scapegoats of inflation.

Although today's circumstances leave little choice but to support this resolution, the Congress should not approve further India resolutions until satisfactory answers are secured.

The Congress is entitled to know in precise detail what India has done during the past year to increase its own food output. In my view, generalities and promises should not be accepted. India has ample land and water to feed twice its present population. What specifically has India done to shed religious taboos so costly to its food supplies? What specifically has India done to create price incentives for greater output? Has India done all that could be reasonably expected to boost its own food output?

To what extent have U.S. food gifts actually impeded agricultural progress in India? For example, is it true that the operation of so-called fair price markets stocked mainly with gift grain from the United States has kept prices too low to provide an adequate incentive for higher production? Has the Government taken adequate steps to give public credit to the United States for our generosity? To what extent has the Government been content to lean on regular gifts?

What specifically has India done politically or militarily in return for our food generosity? Has aid in any form been provided by India to our military forces and others defending South Vietnam? Are any Indian military forces helping us? Has the Government which has received so much from the American people made even the slightest move to speak up for our objectives in South Vietnam, or to mitigate the effect of hostile, anti-American theater productions in Bombay?

How much of the grain supplied virtually free to the Government of India was in turn distributed free to destitute people? Is it true that almost all of our food gifts were put on the market and sold?

What can be done to assure that the food gifts will actually be donated to people who have no money?

If it is determined that extensive free distribution is not practicable, would it be better for our Government to make cash gifts instead of grain gifts to India, so that grain requirements can be purchased through market channels and thus strengthen rather than depress local production incentives?

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike the last word.

Mr. Chairman, this joint resolution marks the first legislative effort by the

House Committee on Agriculture under the able leadership of the gentleman from Texas [Mr. POAGE] as chairman of the committee, and the new ranking minority member, the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. BELCHER]. Our new chairman is not just a student of agriculture, he is a scholar. There is no man in America who has the broad and profound knowledge of farm problems here and over the world as BOB POAGE. He has served on the House Committee on Agriculture for more than a quarter of a century with honor and distinction. I commend the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. BELCHER] for his splendid cooperation as well as the other members of the majority and minority in supporting this legislation and expediting its movement through the Rules Committee and to the House floor.

This is the second resolution which has been presented to aid India in meeting its food requirements for its large population. India's population of almost 500 million people compares with the population of 68 smaller United Nation countries. The first resolution that was presented to the House was the result of the 1965-66 crop season in India which showed an extensive dropoff and decline in grain production from 88 million tons the previous year to only 72 million tons harvested. This loss in production was due to the country's worst drought in many, many years—in fact, in this century. This disaster is referred to by the Indian people as the "failure of the monsoon." An effort worldwide in scope brought relief last year but it was necessary for India to draw upon its reserve supply of food to meet the crisis. It cannot do this now, as such supplies have been greatly diminished or depleted.

India has suffered its second year of major drought in a row. While it is not as severe as the 1965-66 one, the grain production is not expected to exceed 79 million tons this year. Imports of 10 million tons for the calendar year 1967 are essential to prevent a famine of serious proportions affecting more than 70 million people. Imports of 2.3 million tons of grain are being moved into India for use in the first 2 or 3 months of this year. Canada is furnishing 185,000 tons, Australia, 150,000 tons, and the Soviet Union 200,000 tons. Our Nation is providing 1,600,000 tons in this joint effort to help in this emergency. The purpose of this legislation is to aid in supplying the needs for the remainder of 1967, which is estimated to total 10 million additional tons of wheat and grain sorghum.

To find the answer for India's hunger needs, it must come from increasing tremendously her own agricultural activity. Food deliveries from India's agriculture plant have not kept pace with the needs of the vastly growing population. Self-help is the real emphasis that is being placed on this legislation by the executive department and the Committee on Agriculture. India needs to do much more to produce its food needs. It will, however, require time, for India to become self-sustaining in agriculture. That time gap must be bridged. A large disaster would be the

result if the acute shortage of grain is not alleviated this year. India is laying her plans to continuously increase Government outlays for agricultural purposes. She is also planning to build fertilizer plants. India is aiding itself but more of her resources should go into food production. I hope the resolution is approved without undue delay.

(Mr. GATHINGS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

The CHAIRMAN. The Clerk will report the amendments to the preamble.

The Clerk read as follows:

In the second paragraph of the preamble strike the word "Indian" and insert in lieu thereof the word "India".

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The Clerk read the next committee amendment:

In the third paragraph of the preamble strike the phrase "including \$25,000,000 emergency food relief for distribution by CARE and other American voluntary agencies".

The committee amendment was agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the rule, the Committee rises.

Accordingly, the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. MONAGAN, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that the Committee having had under consideration the joint resolution (H.J. Res. 267) to support emergency food assistance to India, pursuant to House Resolution 365, he reported the joint resolution back to the House with sundry amendments adopted by the Committee of the Whole.

The SPEAKER. Under the rule, the previous question is ordered.

Is a separate vote demanded on any amendment? If not, the Chair will put them en gros.

The amendments were agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the engrossment of the joint resolution. The joint resolution was ordered to be engrossed.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the amendments to the preamble.

The amendments to the preamble were agreed to.

The preamble, as amended, was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the third reading of the joint resolution.

The joint resolution was ordered to be read a third time and was read the third time.

MOTION TO RECOMMIT

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion to recommit.

The SPEAKER. Is the gentleman opposed to the joint resolution?

Mr. GROSS. Unqualifiedly, Mr. Speaker.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the motion to recommit.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. GROSS moves to recommit the joint resolution (H.J. Res. 267) to the Committee on Agriculture.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, the previous question is ordered.

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion to recommit.

The motion to recommit was rejected.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the passage of the joint resolution.

The question was taken; and the Speaker announced that the "ayes" appeared to have it.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

The Doorkeeper will close the doors, the Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members, and the Clerk will call the roll.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 311, nays 63, not voting 58, as follows:

[Roll No. 32]

YEAS—311

Adair	Eckhardt	Kazen
Adams	Edmondson	Kee
Addabbo	Edwards, Calif.	Keith
Albert	Edwards, La.	Kelly
Anderson, Ill.	Eilberg	King, N.Y.
Anderson, Tenn.	Erlenborn	Kirwan
Andrews, N. Dak.	Esch	Kleppe
Annunzio	Eshleman	Kornegay
Arends	Evans, Colo.	Kupferman
Ashley	Everett	Kuykendall
Aspinall	Evins, Tenn.	Kyl
Ayres	Farbstein	Kyros
Barrett	Feighan	Laird
Bates	Findley	Landrum
Battin	Fino	Langen
Belcher	Flood	Latta
Bell	Ford, Gerald R.	Lloyd
Bennett	Ford,	Long, Md.
Berry	William D.	Lukens
Betts	Fountain	McCarthy
Biester	Fraser	McClary
Bingham	Frelinghuysen	McClure
Blanton	Fulton, Pa.	McCulloch
Boggs	Fulton, Tenn.	McDade
Boland	Galifianakis	McDonald,
Bolling	Gallagher	Mich.
Bolton	Garmatz	McFall
Brademas	Gathings	Macdonald,
Brasco	Giaino	Mass.
Bray	Gibbons	MacGregor
Brock	Gilbert	Machen
Brooks	Gonzalez	Madden
Broomfield	Goodell	Mahon
Brotzman	Green, Oreg.	Mailliard
Brown, Calif.	Green, Pa.	Marsh
Brown, Mich.	Griffiths	Martin
Brown, Ohio	Grover	Mathias, Calif.
Broyhill, N.C.	Gude	Mathias, Md.
Broyhill, Va.	Gurney	Matsunaga
Buchanan	Halleck	Mayne
Burke, Mass.	Halpern	Meeds
Burton, Calif.	Hamilton	Meskill
Burton, Utah	Hammer-	Michel
Bush	schmidt	Mills
Button	Hanley	Minish
Byrne, Pa.	Hanna	Mink
Byrnes, Wis.	Hansen, Idaho	Minshall
Casey	Hansen, Wash.	Monagan
Cederberg	Harrison	Moore
Celler	Harsha	Moorhead
Clark	Harvey	Morgan
Cleveland	Hathaway	Morris, N. Mex.
Cohelan	Hawkins	Morton
Collier	Hays	Mosher
Conable	Hechler, W. Va.	Moss
Conte	Heckler, Mass.	Multer
Culver	Helstoski	Murphy, Ill.
Cunningham	Henderson	Murphy, N.Y.
Curtis	Hollifield	Natcher
Daddario	Holland	Nedzi
Daniels	Horton	Nelsen
Davis, Ga.	Howard	Nichols
de la Garza	Hungate	O'Hara, Ill.
Delaney	Hunt	O'Hara, Mich.
Dellenback	Hutchinson	Olsen
Denney	Irwin	O'Neill, Mass.
Dent	Jarman	Ottinger
Dingell	Joelson	Patman
Dole	Johnson, Calif.	Patten
Dow	Johnson, Pa.	Pelly
Downing	Jonas	Pepper
Dulski	Jones, Ala.	Perkins
Duncan	Jones, N.C.	Pickle
Dwyer	Karsten	Pike
	Karth	Pirnie
	Kastenmeier	Poage

Poff
Price, Ill.
Price, Tex.
Pryor
Purcell
Quie
Railsback
Randall
Rees
Reid, Ill.
Reid, N.Y.
Reifel
Reinecke
Reuss
Rhodes, Ariz.
Rhodes, Pa.
Riegle
Robison
Rodino
Rogers, Colo.
Rogers, Fla.
Rooney, N.Y.
Rooney, Pa.
Rosenthal
Rostenkowski
Roth
Roudebush
Roush
Roybal
Rumsfeld

Ruppe
Ryan
St Germain
St. Onge
Schadeberg
Scherle
Schneebeli
Schweiker
Schwengel
Selden
Shipley
Shriver
Sisk
Skubitz
Slack
Smith, Calif.
Smith, Iowa
Smith, N.Y.
Smith, Okla.
Staggers
Stanton
Steed
Steiger, Ariz.
Steiger, Wis.
Stephens
Taft
Talcott
Taylor
Teague, Calif.
Teague, Tex.

Tenzer
Thompson, N.J.
Thomson, Wis.
Tunney
Udall
Ullman
Van Deerlin
Vander Jagt
Vanik
Vigorito
Wampler
Watts
Whalen
Whalley
White
Whitener
Widnall
Wilson,
Charles H.
Winn
Wolf
Wright
Wyatt
Wyder
Wyman
Yates
Young
Zablocki
Zion
Zwach

NAYS—63

Abbitt
Abernethy
Andrews, Ala.
Ashbrook
Ashmore
Baring
Bevill
Blackburn
Burke, Fla.
Burleson
Carter
Clawson, Del
Colmer
Cowger
Davis, Wis.
Devine
Dickinson
Dorn
Dowdy
Edwards, Ala.
Fisher

Flynt
Fuqua
Gardner
Goodling
Gross
Hagan
Haley
Hall
Hébert
Hosmer
Hull
Ichord
Lennon
Lipscomb
Long, La.
Miller, Ohio
Myers
O'Konski
O'Neal, Ga.
Passman
Quillen

Rarick
Rivers
Roberts
Satterfield
Saylor
Scott
Sikes
Snyder
Stuckey
Thompson, Ga
Tuck
Utt
Waggonner
Walker
Whitten
Wiggins
Williams, Pa.
Willis
Wilson, Bob
Wylie
Younger

NOT VOTING—58

Blatnik
Bow
Brinkley
Cabell
Cahill
Carey
Chamberlain
Clancy
Clausen,
Don H.
Conyers
Corbett
Corman
Cramer
Dawson
Derwinski
Diggs
Donohue
Fallon
Fascell

Foley
Friedel
Gettys
Gray
Gubser
Hardy
Herlong
Hicks
Jacobs
Jones, Mo.
King, Calif.
Kluczynski
Leggett
McEwen
McMillan
May
Miller, Calif.
Mize
Montgomery
Morse, Mass.

Nix
Pettis
Philbin
Pollock
Pool
Pucinski
Resnick
Ronan
Sandman
Scheuer
Springer
Stafford
Stratton
Stubblefield
Sullivan
Waldie
Watkins
Watson
Williams, Miss.

So the joint resolution was passed.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

On this vote:

Mr. Corbett for, with Mr. Montgomery against.

Mr. Cabell for, with Mr. Pettis against.

Mr. Sandman for, with Mr. Derwinski against.

Mr. Fascell for, with Mr. Williams of Mississippi against.

Mr. Scheuer for, with Mr. McMillan against.

Until further notice:

Mr. Stratton with Mr. Cramer.
Mr. Stubblefield with Mrs. May.
Mr. Jacobs with Mr. Clancy.
Mr. Blatnik with Mr. Bow.
Mr. Miller of California with Mr. Mize.
Mr. Leggett with Mr. Pollock.
Mr. Philbin with Mr. Springer.
Mrs. Sullivan with Mr. Stafford.
Mr. Gettys with Mr. Watson.
Mr. Gray with Mr. Gubser.
Mr. Carey with Mr. Cahill.

Mr. Hicks with Mr. Watkins.
 Mr. Fallon with Mr. Chamberlain.
 Mr. Helstoski with Mr. McEwen.
 Mr. Donohue with Mr. Morse of Massachusetts.
 Mr. King of California with Mr. Don H. Clausen.
 Mr. Hardy with Mr. Pucinski.
 Mr. Friedel with Mr. Diggs.
 Mr. Kluczynski with Mr. Nix.
 Mr. Corman with Mr. Conyers.
 Mr. Ronan with Mr. Dawson.
 Mr. Foley with Mr. Waldie.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to extend their remarks on House Joint Resolution 267 and to include extraneous matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

PRIVILEGE OF THE HOUSE

The SPEAKER. The Chair, in his official capacity as Speaker of this House, and as an individual, has been served with summons issued by the U.S. district court for the District of Columbia in connection with the action—civil action No. 559-67—brought by Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., and other parties plaintiff in that court.

The Chair is informed that the following named Members and officers of the House of Representatives have been served with similar process:

CARL ALBERT, GERALD R. FORD, EMANUEL CELLER, ARCH A. MOORE, JR.; W. Pat Jennings, Clerk; Zeake W. Johnson, Jr., Sergeant at Arms; and William M. Miller, Doorkeeper.

Under the precedents of the House, the Chair, the Members and officers, heretofore mentioned, are unable to comply with these summonses without the consent of the House, the privileges of the House being involved.

The Chair, on behalf of himself and the Members and officers, heretofore referred to, submits the matter for the consideration of this body.

The Clerk will read the summons.

The Clerk read as follows:

SUMMONS: U.S. DISTRICT COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, CIVIL ACTION FILE NO. 559-67, ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, JR., ET AL., PLAINTIFF V. JOHN W. MCCORMACK, ET AL., DEFENDANTS

To the above named Defendant: JOHN W. MCCORMACK, as Speaker of the House of Representatives of the 90th Congress of the United States:

You are hereby summoned and required to serve upon FRANK D. REEVES and HERBERT O. REID, plaintiff's attorney, whose address is P.O. Box 1121, Howard University, Washington, D.C. 20001, an answer to the complaint which is herewith served upon you, within 60 days after service of this summons upon

you, exclusive of the day of service. If you fail to do so, judgment by default will be taken against you for the relief demanded in the complaint.

[SEAL OF COURT] ROBERT M. STEARNS,
Clerk of Court.
 MERIAM M. JENKINS,
Deputy Clerk.

Date: March 8, 1967.

NOTE.—This summons is issued pursuant to Rule 4 of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure.

SUMMONS: U.S. DISTRICT COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, CIVIL ACTION FILE NO. 559-67, ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, JR., ET AL., PLAINTIFF V. JOHN W. MCCORMACK, ET AL., DEFENDANTS

To the above named Defendant: JOHN W. MCCORMACK, Individually and as Member and Representative of the class comprising the House of Representatives of the 90th Congress of the United States:

You are hereby summoned and required to serve upon FRANK D. REEVES and HERBERT O. REID, plaintiff's attorney, whose address is P.O. Box 1121, Howard University, Washington, D.C. 20001, an answer to the complaint which is herewith served upon you, within 60 days after service of this summons upon you, exclusive of the day of service. If you fail to do so, judgment by default will be taken against you for the relief demanded in the complaint.

[SEAL OF COURT] ROBERT M. STEARNS,
Clerk of Court.
 MERIAM M. JENKINS,
Deputy Clerk.

Date: March 8, 1967.

NOTE.—This summons is issued pursuant to Rule 4 of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure.

The SPEAKER. Inasmuch as the summonses were served on other Members of the House and officers of the House, similar to the summons served upon me as Speaker and as an individual, without objection, the summonses served on the other Members of the House and officers of the House will be inserted in the RECORD at this point, as well as a copy of the pleadings.

Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The material referred to follows:

SUMMONS: U.S. DISTRICT COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, CIVIL ACTION FILE NO. 559-67, ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, JR., ET AL., PLAINTIFF V. JOHN W. MCCORMACK, ET AL., DEFENDANTS

To the above named Defendant: CARL ALBERT, Individually and as Member and Representative of the class comprising the House of Representatives of the 90th Congress of the United States:

You are hereby summoned and required to serve upon FRANK D. REEVES and HERBERT O. REID, plaintiff's attorneys, whose address is P.O. Box 1121, Howard University, Washington, D.C., 20001, an answer to the complaint which is herewith served upon you, within 20 days after service of this summons upon you, exclusive of the day of service. If you fail to do so, judgment by default will be taken against you for the relief demanded in the complaint.

[SEAL OF COURT] ROBERT M. STEARNS,
Clerk of Court.
 MERIAM M. JENKINS,
Deputy Clerk.

Date: March 8, 1967.

NOTE.—This summons is issued pursuant to Rule 4 of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure.

SUMMONS: U.S. DISTRICT COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, CIVIL ACTION FILE NO. 559-67, ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, JR., ET AL., PLAINTIFF V. JOHN W. MCCORMACK, ET AL., DEFENDANT

To the above named Defendant: GERALD R. FORD, individually and as Member and Representative of the class comprising the House of Representatives of the 90th Congress of the United States:

You are hereby summoned and required to serve upon FRANK D. REEVES and HERBERT O. REID, plaintiff's attorneys, whose address is, P.O. Box 1121, Howard University, Washington, D.C. 20001, an answer to the complaint which is herewith served upon you, within 60 days after service of this summons upon you, exclusive of the day of service. If you fail to do so, judgment by default will be taken against you for the relief demanded in the complaint.

[SEAL OF COURT] ROBERT M. STEARNS,
Clerk of Court.
 MERIAM M. JENKINS,
Deputy Clerk.

Date: March 8, 1967.

NOTE.—This summons is issued pursuant to Rule 4 of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure.

SUMMONS: U.S. DISTRICT COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, CIVIL ACTION FILE NO. 559-67, ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, JR., ET AL., PLAINTIFF V. JOHN W. MCCORMACK, ET AL., DEFENDANT

To the above named Defendant: EMANUEL CELLER, individually and as Member and Representative of the class comprising the House of Representatives of the 90th Congress of the United States:

You are hereby summoned and required to serve upon FRANK D. REEVES and HERBERT O. REID, plaintiff's attorneys, whose address is P.O. Box 1121, Howard University, Washington, D.C. 20001, an answer to the complaint which is herewith served upon you within 60 days after service of this summons upon you, exclusive of the day of service. If you fail to do so, judgment by default will be taken against you for the relief demanded in the complaint.

[SEAL OF COURT] ROBERT M. STEARNS,
Clerk of Court.
 MERIAM M. JENKINS,
Deputy Clerk.

Date: March 8, 1967.

NOTE.—This summons is issued pursuant to Rule 4 of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure.

SUMMONS: U.S. DISTRICT COURT FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, CIVIL ACTION FILE NO. 559-67, ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, JR., ET AL., PLAINTIFF V. JOHN W. MCCORMACK, ET AL., DEFENDANT

To the above named defendant: ARCH A. MOORE, JR., individually and as Member and Representative of the class comprising the House of Representative of the 90th Congress of the United States:

You are hereby summoned and required to serve upon FRANK D. REEVES and HERBERT O. REID, plaintiff's attorneys, whose address is P.O. Box 1121, Howard University, Washington, D.C. 20001, an answer to the complaint which is herewith served upon you, within 60 days after service of this summons upon you, exclusive of the day of service. If you fail to do so, judgment by default will be taken against you for the relief demanded in the complaint.

[SEAL OF COURT] ROBERT M. STEARNS,
Clerk of Court.
 MERIAM M. JENKINS,
Deputy Clerk.

Date: March 8, 1967.

NOTE.—This summons is issued pursuant to Rule 4 of the Federal Rules of Civil Procedure.

tenance of sound credit conditions and the accommodation of commerce, industry, and agriculture" and to keep itself informed as to the character and amount of the loans and investments of its member banks, with a view to determining whether undue or inappropriate use is being made of bank credit for speculative purposes or for purposes inconsistent with the maintenance of sound credit conditions. These requirements are substantially the same as those now prescribed by the eighth paragraph of section 4 of the Federal Reserve Act.

In addition to advances to member banks, the Reserve banks would be authorized to make advances to individuals, partnerships, and corporations on the security of obligations of the United States, an authority similar to that now contained in the last paragraph of section 13 of the Federal Reserve Act, although the new authority, like that with respect to advances to member banks, would not specify any maturity limitation. As under present law, the authority to make advances to corporations would cover advances to nonmember banks.

Section 2: Because they would be superseded or rendered obsolete by the authority conferred by the new section 13A, the provisions of the Federal Reserve Act hereafter described would be repealed.

Section 10(a) of the act (12 U.S.C. 347a), enacted in 1932, authorizes advances to groups of five or more member banks. This authority has never been utilized and would be unnecessary in the light of the new authority.

Section 10(b) (12 U.S.C. 347b), containing authority for advances to member banks on any satisfactory security but at a one-half-of-1-percent penalty interest rate, would likewise be rendered unnecessary by the new legislation.

Section 11(b) of the act (12 U.S.C. 248 (b)), authorizing the Board of Governors to permit or require a Federal Reserve bank to rediscount the discounted paper of other Reserve banks, has not been used since 1933 and is of no practical importance today.

The 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, 8th, 10th, and 13th paragraphs of section 13 of the act (12 U.S.C. 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 361, and 347c, respectively) contain the basic provisions of present law regarding discounts and advances by the Federal Reserve banks. These provisions limit eligible paper to paper "issued or drawn for agricultural, industrial, or commercial purposes, or the proceeds of which have been used, or are to be used, for such purposes"; provide emergency authority (never used) for the discounting of eligible paper for individuals, partnerships, and corporations; authorize the discounting of sight drafts in certain limited circumstances; authorize the discounting of bankers' acceptances and "dollar exchange" acceptances of the kinds described in paragraphs 7 and 12 of section 13; limit the amount of paper of one obligor that may be discounted for a member bank; authorize advances (as distinguished from discounts) to member banks secured by Government obligations or eligible paper, provide for the regulation of discounts by the Board; authorize advances to individuals, partnerships and corporations on the security of Government obligations; authorize the discounting of agricultural paper, paper held by Federal intermediate credit banks, and paper of cooperative marketing associations; and provide that certain types of real estate loans by national banks shall be regarded as commercial paper for discount purposes. All of these provisions would either be superseded or covered by the new section 13A added by section 1 of the present bill.

Section 3: The eighth paragraph of section 4 of the act (12 U.S.C. 301) presently requires each Federal Reserve bank to consider the maintenance of sound credit conditions and the accommodation of commerce,

industry, and agriculture in extending credit to member banks, and to keep itself informed regarding undue uses of bank credit for speculative purposes; and the Board of Governors is authorized to suspend any member bank from access to Federal Reserve credit for any such undue use of bank credit. These provisions would be retained in substance in the new section 13A. Accordingly, the similar provisions of section 4 would be repealed, so that the eighth paragraph of that section would provide only—as it does now—that the board of directors of each Federal Reserve bank shall administer its affairs "fairly and impartially and without discrimination in favor of or against any member bank or banks."

Section 4: The 13th paragraph of section 9 of the act (12 U.S.C. 330) would be amended to repeal the proviso limiting the amount of paper of one obligor that may be discounted for any member bank. This limitation, like the similar limitation in section 9 of the act, appears unnecessary in view of the fact that most State laws limit the amount of loans that may be made to one borrower by State banks, in terms similar to those applicable to national banks under section 5200 of the Revised Statutes.

Section 5: The last sentence of section 11(c) of the act (12 U.S.C. 248(c)), regarding the addition to the discount rate of any tax paid by the Reserve banks on deficiencies in their reserves against Federal Reserve notes, would be modified to refer to the interest rate charged on advances under the new section 13A.

Section 6: The language of the last sentence of section 11(m) of the act (12 U.S.C. 248(m)), regarding suspension of rediscount privileges for certain increases in loans secured by stock or bond collateral, would be conformed to refer to suspension of use of the credit facilities of the Federal Reserve banks.

Section 7: The provision of section 12 of the act (12 U.S.C. 262), authorizing the Federal Advisory Council to make recommendations in regard to discount rates and rediscount business, would be changed to refer to advances under the new section 13A and interest rates on such advances.

Section 8: The first paragraph of section 14 of the act (12 U.S.C. 353) would be amended to eliminate a reference to paper eligible for rediscount and, at the same time, to omit a reference to regulation of Federal Reserve bank open market operations by the Board of Governors, a function that has been subject to regulation since 1935 by the Federal Open Market Committee.

Section 9: A conforming change would be made in section 14(c) of the act (12 U.S.C. 356) to eliminate a reference to paper arising out of commercial transactions, as hereinbefore defined.

Section 10: Section 14(d) of the act (12 U.S.C. 357), relating to the fixing of discount rates, would be amended to refer to interest rates under the new section 13A. At the same time, this provision would be broadened to authorize the fixing of different rates, not only for different classes of paper, but also according to such other basis or bases as may be deemed necessary to accomplish the purposes of this provision. The amended provision would also include separate authority as to rates on advances to individuals, partnerships, and corporations under subsection (c) of the new section 13A.

Section 11: The provision of section 16 of the act (12 U.S.C. 412) authorizing the use of paper acquired under section 13 as security for Federal Reserve notes would be modified to refer to notes of member banks or others acquired under the provisions of [the new] section 13A of this act.

Section 12: The provision of section 19 of the act (12 U.S.C. 463), prohibiting member banks from acting as agents for nonmember banks in obtaining Federal Reserve dis-

counts, without the Board's permission, would be conformed to refer to advances instead of discounts.

Section 13: A provision of section 23A of the act, relating to security for loans to affiliates of member banks, would be conformed to eliminate a reference to drafts eligible for rediscount.

Section 14: A provision of the act of July 21, 1932 (12 U.S.C. 1148), authorizing agricultural credit corporations to rediscount eligible paper with the Federal Reserve banks, would be repealed.

FHA INSURANCE OF VACATION HOMES

(Mr. RUPPE (at the request of Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. RUPPE. Mr. Speaker, today I have introduced legislation to authorize FHA insurance of vacation homes. My bill, identical to one introduced in the other body by the Honorable PHILIP HART, of Michigan, will do much to achieve the continued economic revitalization so necessary to areas like northern Michigan.

The tourist and vacation industry is a key that will unlock new doorways to prosperity in areas like northern Michigan. The Federal government is already doing a great deal to provide direct and indirect assistance. Michigan's Gov. George Romney has instituted a vigorous program. We must constantly seek new and more ingenious ways or bolstering this vital industry. Extending insurance of mortgages to vacation homes is just such a program.

Many of our rural areas lack the tax base that is necessary to healthy and coordinated growth. In areas like the 11th Congressional District of Michigan, which I represent, this is complicated by the fact that the Park Service and Forest Service have taken large tracts of land off the tax rolls. The Park Service and Forest Service programs are, for the most part, excellent, and in themselves will greatly increase tourism. Nevertheless, at least a short-range problem is created for many jurisdictions in nonurban areas. The increase in the tax base created by vacation homes would certainly be substantial.

The purchaser of a vacation home is a good risk. He is generally a responsible family man, and I understand financial institutions dealing in the vacation home field rarely have collection problems. Furthermore, the great percentage of these homes are in the \$10,000 to \$15,000 range.

From every point of view this is desirable legislation. It encourages recreation for families generally confined to cities most of the year. It bolsters the economy of areas presently in need of economic development by attracting new people on a semipermanent basis, increasing the tax base, providing new jobs for local labor forces, and opening new markets.

The second home market is booming all over America. It is time for Congress to recognize this fact, and extend FHA insurance for seasonal homes. The bill I have introduced today, amending sec-

tion 203 of the National Housing Act, accomplishes this purpose.

(Mr. RUPPE (at the request of Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

[Mr. RUPPE'S remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

(Mr. WYDLER (at the request of Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

[Mr. WYDLER'S remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

VERMONT VOICE OF DEMOCRACY CONTEST

(Mr. STAFFORD (at the request of Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. STAFFORD. Mr. Speaker, it is with much pride that I place in the RECORD a speech of Donald C. Chaffin, of Bennington, Vt., which was adjudged the winning speech in the Vermont Voice of Democracy contest conducted by the Veterans of Foreign Wars and its ladies' auxiliary:

(By Donald C. Chaffin)

Few Americans would define Democracy as the absolute freedom to do what one wants, be it right or wrong. Most Americans understand that even though Democracy does offer them many opportunities to do what they want, it does so only insofar as what they want is right.

The word "Right" plays a very important, historical role in our Democracy. In fact, one of the Basic Documents on which our Democracy rests has been called "The Bill of Rights."

We say a thing is "Right" when it is as it should be. For instance, in a Democracy such as ours the citizens are guaranteed the exercise of certain rights so that they can—as it should be—promote personal growth and maintain personal freedom while, at the same time, they are contributing to the Common good of all.

Very few citizens have to be prodded into promoting and defending their own rights. Very many, however, are remiss in promoting and defending the rights of the other citizens, especially when they feel that the deprivation of the rights of others has no direct bearing on their own. Unfortunately, they are only too willing to let some citizens suffer a wrong, while they themselves enjoy the opposite right.

But to prevent or correct injustices—which is nothing more than the absence of rights that should be present—is as necessary to the development of a True Democracy as the freedom to exercise one's own rights. For in truth, the exercise of one's own rights and the correction of injustices inflicted on others go hand in hand. A Democracy such as ours, which purports to be the citadel of each man's basic rights, cannot long exist if its citizens promote justice in one area and allow injustice in another.

Americans who do not prevent or correct injustices because they are afraid to become involved, or because they are unwilling to do the work necessary to conserve and promote Democratic principles, are not living up to their serious obligations. In fact they

are undermining, to a greater or lesser degree, the very foundation of our Democracy, which guarantees equal rights for all its citizens.

It would be unfair of me to criticize Adult Americans without, at the same time, criticizing students. For Adult Americans were once students, and much of what they learned—or didn't learn—about Democracy, much of what they do now—or don't do—to promote rights or to correct injustices—has its roots in their student days.

Consequently, I think it is imperative for students to know Democracy and put its principles into action while they are still students, because student Days are the days in which to establish strong roots for future growth.

Students must come to know our Democracy—from its foundations through its evolutionary growth. They must understand the rights guaranteed under our Democratic form of Government, and they must be made aware of the fact that some of the rights guaranteed have been, in fact, lacking to some of its citizens.

Once having understood this, students must examine their own house. They must see that Democratic Principles are brought to bear upon their own society, for they will promote rights and correct injustices as Adults to the degree they do the same as students.

Two things I do personally to promote Democratic principles within our school system are:

(1) I vote for those student Government candidates who honestly seek to correct injustices or inequalities present within the School Politic or for those who pledge to promote the well-being of all the students, and not just the few; and

(2) I encourage, allow and participate in free discussions of all ideas, whether it be in the Public Forum of School Government, or in the private sector.

In conclusion—Democracy means to me the enjoyment of my own personal rights and the opportunity to promote and defend the rights of another, for in promoting his I guarantee my own.

INDIA SHOULD TRY HARDER

(Mr. BURKE of Florida (at the request of Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. BURKE of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I rise in opposition to House Joint Resolution 267, the resolution now before the House concerning continued food aid to India.

In the consideration of such a serious matter as the shipment of food to hungry people, I do not think it amiss to point out that India, to whom it is proposed we send emergency food assistance, should try harder. No one begrudges India food when natural disasters overtake the crops, or when the most efficient use of the soil still fails to produce enough food for her teeming millions. But we do have the right to object, I think, if India does not make the best use of her agricultural resources, and comes to expect, as a matter of course, that America will make up the gap. It is India's responsibility to do her absolute best to feed her people.

The resolution before us, House Joint Resolution 267, approves the participation of this country with other nations and with multilateral organizations in efforts designed to develop a comprehensive self-help approach to the war on

hunger, based on a fair sharing of the burdens among the nations of the world. How this is to be accomplished is not spelled out. In his war-on-hunger message, the President indicated that food and food-related assistance to India should be administered through the 11-member consortium already operating under World Bank leadership for the joint provision of economic aid to that country. The resolution would be strengthened, it seems to me, if it conditioned our assistance on the performance of certain tasks by the Indian Consortium, such as regularly reviewing India's self-help efforts, conditions which appear in the President's message. I greatly fear that unless Congress makes it crystal clear just what this country can do and is willing to do, the entire burden of short and long range food assistance to India will fall upon us.

In its report on this resolution, the Agriculture Committee, of which I am a member, pointed out that the resolution does not amend existing law. It is not meant to restrict the authority of the President to take such action as he sees fit at a later time. The resolution, in short, is a "sense of Congress" resolution. It constitutes an expression of Legislative support for a policy that the Executive could adopt without such support. I appreciate the fact that congressional approval is being sought. By the same token, however, I believe that since Congress is not making law by means of this resolution, it ought at least to record its belief, in clear cut fashion, that India must take certain specific steps to help herself if she is to merit this Nation's confidence, and that this country will participate in any multilateral assistance program for Indian food relief only as long as other members meet their commitments.

Among the specific steps which India might take to relieve her seemingly chronic food shortage is to give a higher priority to agriculture in her development planning. During her first development plans India was lucky. Her harvests were good. The result was to continue planning in terms of large industrial expansion, without paying sufficient attention to the agricultural base. India is now paying a price for that shortsightedness, but it is not a price that should continue. This much of the remedy, at least, is in Indian hands. Furthermore, India could plant food crops on land presently devoted to cotton, which is a world surplus crop. This country has a right to expect that India is meeting the requirements of Public Law 480 as amended, in this regard, before it continues to make wheat available out of its own shrinking supplies.

India is making efforts at population control. This is commendable, for unless the Indian population can be kept within some limits, all the assistance in the world will be for naught. Unfortunately, reports on the success of India's family planning program are mixed. Admittedly, this is a tremendous problem, but additional effort is necessary if food aid for India we are called upon to support is to be of any value, now or in the future.

In its report, the Agriculture Committee also pointed out that both the present resolution and existing legislation make it possible for grain shipments for India to be in the form of products, and it recommends that the Secretary of Agriculture use his authority under Public Law 480 to make a reasonable amount of assistance available in product form. I join in that recommendation, and again, I wish it had been included in the resolution. Either that, or let the rupees spent in India for this aid be used instead to help American exports and the balance of payments.

In short, let us seize this moment to review our foreign aid programs. I know this has been done many times before, and I am not suggesting an overall policy review. What I am suggesting is that this country make a searching examination of the extent to which self-help programs have taken hold, not only in India, but throughout the underdeveloped world. Otherwise aid becomes a treadmill. I fear that unless the so-called third world realizes that there is a limit to Uncle Sam's bounty it will not put its house in order. It is because I believe this, and because I believe that India, as a leader of the third world, has not set the example it could and should, that I cannot vote for this resolution.

ARROGATION OF POWER BY SUPREME COURT

(Mr. SAYLOR (at the request of Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record, and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, of late a growing number of Members of Congress are becoming more resentful of the attitude and philosophy of the Supreme Court.

Recent decisions reflect the Court's propensity to arrogate—with summary disdain for either public good or public preference—power delegated to the legislative branch of Government. The more notorious rulings include those involving Communist teachers in public schools, prayer in school, reapportionment, and persons suspected or convicted of crime.

If ever an example of the Supreme Court's encroachment were needed, the reapportionment rulings provided all the evidence necessary to prove that action is necessary to get our system of checks and balances back on even keel. Here the Court went clearly beyond constitutional limitations by assuming an unprecedented political position in Baker against Carr, then proceeding to ignore even county lines in Reynolds against Sims.

Mr. Speaker, when one branch of a government of the people, by the people, and for the people insists upon following a course that is repugnant and intolerable to most of the people, it becomes the responsibility of those elected by the people to reappraise and to readjust.

Today I am introducing a bill to provide for a constitutional amendment to permit Congress, by a two-thirds vote of each house, to override a decision of the Supreme Court. I was author of similar

legislation in the 88th Congress, but I believe that the need for it is now more obvious and more urgent. Instead of attempting to rescind decisions through constitutional amendments in installments, Congress should enact my bill as soon as possible in order to supply prompt and precise remedy for both odious and overbearing Court actions.

NATIONAL SCHOOL SAFETY PATROL WEEK

(Mr. SAYLOR (at the request of Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, on February 7 I introduced House Joint Resolution 269 to designate the second week in May "National School Safety Patrol Week."

Residents of Washington are well aware of this annual event, for more than 20,000 boys and girls converge upon the city at this time of year for the honors so richly earned in their capacity as Patrol leaders. I am happy to report that 800 to 900 boys and girls from the Cambria County area, sponsored by the AAA Club of Johnstown, will be here to participate in the Parade and other functions.

The national school safety patrol parade is always a most impressive episode in this exciting week, and the heartbeat of every spectator is further quickened at the presentation of Gold Lifesaver Medals to those alert and courageous youngsters considered directly responsible for saving the lives of fellow students.

Each of the 900,000 patrol members who serves faithfully in protecting America's school populace from injury merits the appreciation of a grateful nation. Moreover, the young boy or girl who recognizes this responsibility and carries out the appointed duties of the safety patrol will be a better citizen for it. At the same time the familiar badge and belt are a symbol of authority which tend to impress upon all students—and adult passersby alike—the need for respecting the laws that safeguard our society.

Traffic fatality statistics are a testimony to the success of the safety patrol program. It began to take form in 1916, and in the past 45 years the traffic death rate of schoolchildren has been cut almost in half while the traffic death rate of other age groups has doubled.

Mr. Speaker, I congratulate members of the patrol and all who cooperate actively in this vital program—including school authorities, police officials, and local motor clubs affiliated with the American Automobile Association.

LAWS TO AID SENIOR CITIZENS NEEDED TO COMBAT GROWING INFLATION — SOCIAL SECURITY BENEFITS MUST BE INCREASED

(Mr. CRAMER (at the request of Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, because of the large numbers of retirees in my district, I have had the opportunity to witness first hand the many problems they face. The situation of the retiree in today's economy is very serious and in many respects promises to become even worse as the administration continues to pursue a policy of planned deficits which is resulting in a continuing debasement of the retirement dollar.

I have today introduced a series of bills which, if enacted into law, would help ease the heavy burden imposed on senior citizens as a result of the inflationary policies of the administration.

The first of my bills would amend title II of the Social Security Act and would first, provide benefits for certain disabled widows without regard to their age; second, increase the outside earnings permitted without loss of benefits from \$1,500 annually to \$2,400 annually; third, pay benefits to the surviving spouse despite marriage or remarriage if the blissful event occurs after the attainment of age 55; and, fourth, provide automatic social security increases with increases in the cost of living.

Mr. Speaker, I strongly support an immediate, across-the-board increase in social security benefits. I have refrained from specifying any particular percentage increase believing that the members of the House Ways and Means Committee, who are presently considering this matter and who have all the facts before them from which to make this determination, will come up with a reasonable increase. I strongly urge, however, that the above enumerated bills be made a part of any legislation recommended by the Ways and Means Committee.

I believe it essential, for example, that the automatic increase provision be incorporated into this year's social security amendments. Inflation strikes far more rapidly than the Congress acts. To our older or disabled citizens living on a reduced and fixed income, inflation produces infinite hardships. It is impossible for many of our senior citizens to manage today's living costs on yesterday's fixed income. It is essential that Congress act to provide a means whereby increases in social security benefits keep pace with increases in the cost of living. An automatic increase provision is a reasonable means to attain this desired end and should be approved by the Ways and Means Committee.

In addition to my bills to aid social security recipients, I have introduced other bills which will be helpful to older Americans.

I have introduced a bill to amend the Railroad Retirement Act which also calls for an automatic benefits increase with increases in the cost of living. As with social security, I am in support of an immediate increase in Railroad Retirement benefits as well.

I have also introduced a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code to restore the provisions permitting the deductions of medical expenses incurred for the care of individuals 65 years of age and over without regard to the 3-percent and 1-percent floors. I have also filed a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code to provide that annuities received under

the Civil Service Retirement Act shall not be subject to the income tax.

Mr. Speaker, I believe it is high time we stopped relegating the senior citizen to a second-class citizen role. We must recognize that many of our older workers are physically and mentally capable of engaging in gainful employment and, in many cases, need such an opportunity in order to participate in community life as happy, self-respecting citizens. With this in mind, I have introduced today a bill to amend the Older Americans Act of 1965 to provide for a National Community Senior Service Corps so that maximum utilization of the talents and experience of our senior citizens can be made.

I have also introduced a bill to amend the National Labor Relations Act to prohibit discrimination in employment because of age. I believe that every individual who is mentally and physically capable of working and who desires to work should not be excluded from employment solely on the basis of age. It should be pointed out that this problem confronts not only the worker of 60 years of age or more. It hits also the middle-aged workers as well. I repeat: our objective should be to assure that all citizens have an opportunity to work if mentally and physically able to do so.

I have also introduced a bill aimed at benefitting civil service retirees in addition to the Internal Revenue Code amendment discussed above. This bill would eliminate the reduction in annuity presently experienced when the spouse predeceases the person make the election, thus permitting the survivor to receive a full annuity instead of a reduced annuity. The bill also provides that the retiree, in the alternative, may elect to designate a new spouse as survivor when such new spouse has attained age 60 and thereby permit a second spouse to become eligible for a survivor annuity.

The bill would also extend benefits under the Retired Federal Employees Health Benefits Act to retirees entitled to receive a "deferred annuity"—that is to say, persons who leave government service prior to retirement age and who are eligible to draw their retirement, based on their years of government service, upon reaching age 62.

This bill would further provide for recomputation of annuities of retirees who retired prior to October 11, 1962. The purpose of this recomputation is to give those retired before 1962 the benefit of the more liberal computation formula instituted for those retiring after the 1962 date.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that enactment of these bills, would go a long ways toward assisting senior citizens in many walks of life. I urge their enactment into law.

INTERNATIONAL CENTER IN WASHINGTON

(Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia (at the request of Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, on February 27, President

Johnson sent a remarkable message to the Congress calling for the establishment of an international center in the heart of Washington which would be, he said, "available for foreign chanceries and the offices of international organizations." He also said that he would "recommend legislation, which, consistent with the legitimate interests of the District citizens, would specify an area northwest of Washington Circle" to be used for these foreign governments and international organizations.

I say remarkable because additional details of this proposed international center are becoming available daily and it is becoming increasingly clear that the State Department and the administration has other plans in mind in addition to those stated by the President.

The Washington Post, in an editorial today on the international center, reveals some of the other proposals in the plan which the Members of the House must consider carefully. The editorial says:

The planners and the State Department are looking not only to present demands but also to the indefinite future when much more space will be needed for international activities here. It would be highly desirable to have a specially designated center with hotels, restaurants, perhaps shops with many foreign specialties and office space for any country or international agency seeking it. Incidentally, such an International Center would also add greatly to the attractiveness of the city.

Just why the State Department and the planners think that the taxpayers of the Nation should help subsidize locations for new hotels and restaurants is something that should be explained. There are many fine hotels near the present international section of the Nation's Capital where the French Embassy, the Italian, Mexican, and Spanish Embassies, and scores of chanceries are located. This is highly questionable, particularly when the development scheme would displace scores of businesses providing jobs for thousands of breadwinners and heads of families and knock out millions of dollars in taxes paid by these businesses to the Federal and District of Columbia Governments.

The New York Times on March 8 reported on the State Department proposal as follows:

The Administration proposal would authorize the General Services Administration, the Federal Government's housekeeping and purchasing agency, to buy most of the property in an area of aging residences north of Washington Circle at Pennsylvania and New Hampshire Avenues, N.W.

With an expenditure of about \$50 million, the G.S.A. would raze the area and, following procedures common in urban renewal development resell or lease the assembled parcels of acreage to foreign governments for use as chanceries and embassies.

There are several things that become clear from this New York Times article about President Johnson's proposal which he neglected to tell the Congress in his message of February 27. It is not "an area of aging residences," but one of the fastest developing commercial and residential areas in the Nation's Capital and one which is developing without 1

cent of Federal urban renewal funds. The land in the area is selling in the vicinity of \$80 a foot.

It should be noted that there are 10 acres of vacant land in the Kalorama area, an historic Embassy-chancery area, which could be obtained for a figure of approximately \$5 million. By comparison, to acquire the Washington Circle site something in excess of \$100 million would be required for the land alone.

It is time that Members of both the Senate and the House took a harder look at the administration's plan for an international center and asked if this project is not a \$100 million boondoggle and a get-rich-quick land-development scheme in which the administration is using foreign Governments and international organizations for the purpose of refurbishing its sagging image in the Nation's Capital. There are enough hidden costs in this project to keep it rolling for the next 20 years.

[From The Washington Post, Mar. 9, 1967]

INTERNATIONAL CENTER

The concept of an International Center is an important part of the National Capital Planning Commission's new "comprehensive plan" for Washington. President Johnson obviously had this plan in mind when he asked Congress recently to authorize the acquisition of about 42 acres between Washington Circle and Potomac Park for use by chanceries and international organizations. The site has been well chosen. It lies between the State Department and the cluster of chanceries and embassies near Massachusetts and Connecticut Avenues. It is also reasonably close to various international organization headquarters.

There are, of course, other attractive sites for embassies and chanceries, and no one should suppose that all of the 113 foreign governments represented in Washington will ever wish to be in an international center. The Government has an obligation to make suitable sites available to meet a wide variety of requirements. It is good policy to provide special inducements for international organizations to locate here.

The bill approved by the House District Committee authorizing the acquisition of two separate sites for chanceries, one at 16th Street and Florida Avenue and the other near the Zoo, does not alter the concept of an International Center. Both sites may well be used for chanceries if they meet the requirements of the countries concerned. The planners and the State Department are looking not only to present demands but also to the indefinite future when much more space will be needed for international activities here. It would be highly desirable to have a specially designated center with hotels, restaurants, perhaps shops with many foreign specialties and office space for any country or international agency seeking it. Incidentally, such an International Center would also add greatly to the attractiveness of the city.

[From the New York Times, Mar. 8, 1967]

HOUSE PANEL AND STATE DEPARTMENT CLASH ON EMBASSY ENCLAVE

(By Ben A. Franklin)

WASHINGTON, March 7.—Another round in the perennial debate over where to put Washington's large number of foreign diplomats began today. As usual, Congress and the State Department were on opposite sides, with residents of the District of Columbia in the middle.

At stake is a long-discussed plan to create a diplomatic enclave in Washington—a sort

1. Has always stood for progress and not regression. Our nation has always moved forward—never backward. And our nation like all others cannot stand still. It must be involved in movement. Ours must be a dedication to help it move forward in progress.

2. Has rewarded labor—not idleness. This is important in view of some suggestions that an individual may have a certain "right" to monetary remuneration even if he does not work at anything and even if he does not contribute to our economy and society in a constructive way. This would be a radical departure from the precept that one's labor should be rewarded.

3. Has inspired promise and hope—not despair. I know that there are people in large numbers who have been born into despair, who live a life-time in despair and who die in despair. Many are doomed to this cycle through no fault of their own. But this is not America. America was born to lift all into the realm of promise and hope. That is the inherent story of America. We now have an obligation and a responsibility to make sure that promise and hope are dominant over the element of despair.

4. Has smiled on individuals—not upon a faceless mass of humanity. This precept goes directly back to the fundamental principle that America is concerned with the dignity of man. It means that the individual is important. That the individual is more important than the government which governs it. This dignity of man must be constantly before us in our considerations and actions. It is fundamental to the continuance of a free society.

5. Has been more filled with love than hate. I suppose to some today it would seem that hatred has emerged as dominant force in our society. People talk of increased crime, violence, discrimination, demonstrations, etc. . . . At this point it is important to recognize that our younger people in high school and college might draw the inference that hatred is a dominant theme. But here we have a responsibility to avoid distortion and to constantly remember and recall the millions of acts inspired by love which go unnoticed in the news reporting of our day. Man's impulse for love is far greater than his possibility for hatred. By his very nature man seeks love and desires to evidence love. This too is important from the standpoint of the future of our nation.

These three principles or goals and these five precepts are all involved in what can be termed a national sense of purpose. Now we must spell it out. This is the obligation and duty of leaders. Leaders in all areas of activity must be responsible for this. Certainly the President, Senators, Congressmen, Governors, Legislators and other elected officials must seek and try to spell it out. But it is up to every citizen to somehow contribute to a spelling out of what America is and what it means.

This is a challenge to individuals and to our society in a moment and hour of great and difficult change. This is a challenge we must all accept.

EMERGENCY FOOD AID TO INDIA IN NATIONAL INTEREST

(Mr. NELSEN (at the request of Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, in the 1965-66 crop year, India experienced the worst drought of the century, which threatened millions with starvation and diseases associated with malnutrition. The drought caused a drop in India food production from 88 to 72 million tons.

In order to avert an international catastrophe, the United States and many other nations, private organizations and individuals joined in helping India meet its food crisis. Under our food-for-peace program, the U.S. Congress approved sending over 8 million tons of food grains to India as a major part of this effort.

Earlier this year, the President reported:

The fact that India did not experience famine ranks among the proudest chapters in the history of international cooperation.

But unfortunately, drought has continued to plague India. According to the President:

Unless Indian production is supplemented by substantial imports—perhaps 10 million tons by present estimates for calendar year 1967—more than 70 million people will experience near famine.

So it is my purpose today to urge support for House Joint Resolution 267. This resolution recommends that the United States provide an additional amount of food grain not to exceed 3 million tons at an estimated cost of \$190 million as the U.S. share toward meeting the India food deficit, providing it is appropriately matched. It agrees to the further commitments of additional food aid already negotiated by the administration, and provides funds for emergency food relief for distribution by CARE and other American voluntary agencies.

Mr. Speaker, the longstanding purpose of our food-for-peace program has been to help combat starvation while developing new markets abroad for American farm commodities. In spite of our increasingly limited resources, and the importance of greater self-help efforts by food deficit nations, we cannot in conscience sit idly by and watch a people starve when we have a program to do something about it.

Avoidance of a catastrophe such as India presently faces is exactly why the food-for-peace program was established during the Eisenhower administration. It is clearly to the advantage of both America and India to do what we can to avoid famine and preserve peace in this land which borders on Communist China and war-torn southeast Asia.

Congressional agreement to the emergency proposals means a potential market for American farm production will be given encouragement at the same time U.S. humanitarian and foreign policy interests are carried out.

Therefore, I again urge the House to support emergency food assistance to India proposals contained in House Joint Resolution 267.

APPAREL IMPORT PROGRAM

(Mr. CARTER (at the request of Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Speaker, I represent, among my constituents, about 4,000 apparel workers, or one-sixth of all apparel workers in Kentucky. These people work in approximately 20 plants, 12 percent of the apparel plants in Kentucky. The major product of these plants is men's and boys' dress and sport

shirts. Men's and boys' shirts are running into extremely stiff competition from imported shirts which are coming into this country in very large quantities. Apparel imports of almost every kind are entering the United States in ever-increasing amounts, and this problem is of genuine concern to me, not only as a representative of part of the industry, but as an American who believes that the apparel industry of this country should not be undermined by foreign producers who overbuild their apparel industries just to export their excess goods to the developed nations of the world.

I am especially concerned about the increasing imports of men's and boys' shirts, since these products are an important part of the apparel production in my district. Men's and boys' dress and sport shirts are coming into this country in alarmingly large quantities. From 1964 to 1966, a period of only 3 years, our imports of cotton and synthetic fabric dress and sport shirts grew by 61 percent—from 43.4 million shirts in 1964 to 69.7 million shirts in 1966. This is an increase of 26 million shirts in this short period. The greatest increases have been in shirts of synthetic fabrics, which have been entering this country restricted only by tariffs which obviously provide a very low barrier.

These shirts can enter this country and, after the appropriate tariffs are paid on them, importers can sell them for a lower retail price than comparable, domestically produced shirts. The foreign manufacturers, the wholesalers, and the retailers all can make money by selling these imported clothes even after the duties are paid. This means that the original selling price of the manufacturer, and therefore his costs, are much lower than those for American apparel manufacturers. This lower selling price is due to two principal factors: lower wages and more productive machinery. In many foreign countries the apparel industry is quite new, or it has been rebuilt since the Second World War. This means that machinery is new and efficient, and in some cases more efficient than our machinery. Although the foreign apparel worker is not generally as efficient as the American apparel worker, he can produce very low priced goods with the help of modern machines.

In contrast to foreign apparel industries, the American apparel industry is one of the oldest industries in the country. In some cases plant and equipment is old and not as efficient as it could be. Our industry needs time to modernize, and even more important, it needs the assurance that imports will not take over our markets any more than they already have. If apparel imports continue to grow at their current rate, all the growth in market demand will eventually be taken over by imports, and the domestic industry will not be able to grow at all. This prospect does not give our apparel manufacturers the necessary incentive to invest large amounts in more efficient plant and equipment which will help them become more competitive with imports.

As I mentioned above, the greatest growth in imports currently is in the area of synthetic fiber apparel. The only bar-

rier to their entry into this country is a rather ineffective tariff, which our negotiators in Geneva have proposed be cut by as much as 50 percent. These tariff cuts under the Kennedy round of negotiations are due to be authorized before the Trade Expansion Act expires this June. If this is done, we can expect imports of wool and synthetic fiber apparel to rush into this country as never before.

International trade of cotton apparel products, on the other hand, is regulated by an arrangement signed by 29 countries, including the United States. This arrangement allows the exporting countries to participate in the markets of the importing countries without causing dislocations in these markets. There is a provision for annual growth in these imports so that the domestic industry can share its growth in demand with imports. This enables apparel producers in both importing and exporting countries to plan production and investment.

An arrangement, similar to that governing trade of cotton products, could be established for the trade of synthetic and wool fiber apparel and textile products. This would allow our apparel and textile industries to share the growth in their markets with imports without having imports take over the entire growth. Until this type of arrangement is instituted, it would be foolish to lower apparel tariffs. If tariffs were lowered now, we might be too late to help when an arrangement is negotiated, hopefully very soon.

(Mr. DUNCAN (at the request of Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

[Mr. DUNCAN'S remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

(Mr. KUPFERMAN (at the request of Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

[Mr. KUPFERMAN'S remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.]

SPECIAL TAX EXEMPTION FOR LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICERS

(Mr. TAFT (at the request of Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. TAFT. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a bill that would permit a \$200 tax exclusion per month for law enforcement officers nationwide. The proposal would give these deserving public servants up to a \$35 per month reduction in Federal income taxes and in effect provides an "instant pay increase."

In addition to this nationwide police pay raise, the bill would give much needed recognition of vital national status and of dangerous duty to our law enforcement personnel. Combat soldiers currently enjoy a similar privilege.

The risks taken by our law enforcement officers often equal those taken daily by many of our Armed Forces in combat areas. We have talked about the spiraling crime rate, the lack of police officers, the need for action. It is estimated that there are 50,000 vacancies in police positions in the nation today. This bill is a step in the right direction. It will offer some incentives to those considering police work.

We have all, at one time or another, uttered flowery praise in support of law enforcement officers. Today, we have an opportunity to turn those words into action. I hope that the House will act favorably and quickly on this measure.

DMSO, THE PERSECUTED DRUG— PART IV

(Mr. WYATT (at the request of Mr. SMITH of Oklahoma) was granted permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, I have more to report to the Members of this body concerning the 18th century attitude of the Food and Drug Administration toward the new drug, DMSO.

Early last month, Dr. Chauncey Leake, a respected pharmacologist from the University of California was in Portland, Oreg., and addressed the Portland City Club. This man is a true expert, and as disinterested an analyst as possible. His remarks were reported in the news story hereafter presented for your consideration by Marge Davenport, a reporter for the Oregon Journal. He makes an excellent point regarding the bumbling manner of the FDA in handling this exciting new medical principle.

Likewise, I would like to read to the Members the editorial of the Oregon Journal regarding his talk. Dr. Leake presented a summary of the symposium on DMSO held in Vienna last November, which I also bring to the attention of Members of Congress:

[From the Oregon Journal, Feb. 11, 1967]
BUREAUCRAT HANDS SLAPPED FOR CURB ON
DMSO TESTING

(By Marge Davenport)

"The licensed physicians of this country charged with the health of the people should be the judges of whether or not a drug is safe for their patients. This decision should not be made by a bureaucrat sitting in Washington, D.C."

This is the opinion of Dr. Chauncey Leake, University of California pharmacologist, who spoke to Portland's City Club Friday on the "Saga of DMSO" (dimethyl sulfoxide).

Reviewing the history of the controversial Oregon wonder drug which was removed from clinical testing in 1965, Dr. Leake charged the Food and Drug Administration with "unwarranted interference in the practice of medicine" by regulations on drugs that he said have been proved safe by extensive experiments.

Dr. Leake, who headed the New York Academy of Sciences symposium on DMSO and the International DMSO Conference in Vienna last year, is considered one of the world's leading authorities on drugs.

The pharmacologist told his Portland audience, which included physicians, both for and against DMSO, that he does not know of any other drug "that came into clinical use with so many indications of safety and effectiveness."

He charged that the FDA's ban on DMSO, which went into effect in 1965 (and has only recently been relaxed slightly), was a "characteristically bureaucratic act" which was unwarranted. He said America should be wary of its "growing bureaucracy" and "too many rules and regulations."

"DMSO is extremely nontoxic. It has amazing chemical properties and enormous medical potential," Dr. Leake declared.

He pointed out that the FDA chief, Dr. James Goddard, came to power about the time DMSO was being tested widely and began showing usefulness in a large number of cases.

Dr. Goddard put complicated new regulations into effect in connection with drug testing. These involved an enormous amount of red tape and were a "terrible burden" to the investigators, Dr. Leake continued.

"Therefore, it was very easy for a bureaucrat to note that regulation 5. of section 23 was being violated by 'Dr. Wigglesworth' in Portland. Doctors all over the country were using the drug DMSO and were not conforming with the new regulations, so of course there were going to be all sorts of violations. Then on went the ban."

"But this left the FDA in a hole because no bureaucrat wants to be thought of as a bureaucrat. So the FDA issued a press release saying there were 23 cases of eye injury from DMSO."

"Later, it turned out that these were 23 cases of lens changes reported in dogs that had been given doses many times the human dosage," Dr. Leake said.

Refuting this report are hundreds of reports of tests from all over the world that show DMSO is a safe, nontoxic drug, Dr. Leake continued.

"I believe DMSO is safer than either alcohol or aspirin," he later declared.

Extending his theme of the evils of bureaucracy, Dr. Leake referred to Portland's drug raids this week and warned that "we have to be careful how far we go in thinking laws will solve the problem."

He said we tried to control alcohol with prohibition and it was a dismal failure.

"Such things as drugs and alcohol have to be controlled by education. I am pessimistic about government regulations," he said.

He said too much bureaucracy contributed to the downfall of Egypt, the degeneration of China in ages past, and that bureaucracy led to horrible things in Russia and Germany.

"The U.S. should not be caught in the same trap," Dr. Leake warned.

[From the Oregon Journal, Feb. 15, 1967]

MANY WOULD TAKE THE RISK

The case for more liberal testing of dimethyl sulfoxide (DMSO), the Oregon-developed "wonder drug", would not be so strong if its advocates were limited to those who have a special interest in its distribution and use.

But highly respected and disinterested voices have been speaking out strongly in its behalf. One of the most respected of these is Dr. Chauncey Leake, University of California pharmacologist, who addressed the Portland City Club last week.

Dr. Leake, one of the world's leading authorities on drugs, criticized the restrictions placed on the testing of DMSO by the U.S. Food and Drug Administration as an example of heavy-handed bureaucracy. (The FDA put a complete ban on testing in 1965 after changes had been noted in the eyes of animals which had been given extremely heavy doses over a long period of time. It has now relaxed the ban but has placed heavy restrictions on testing).

Dr. Leake joins other eminent medical men in believing that DMSO is "extremely nontoxic" and that it has "amazing chemical properties and enormous medical potential." One of its hoped-for uses is in the relief of

90TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. J. RES. 267

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

MARCH 10, 1967

Read twice and referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry

JOINT RESOLUTION

To support emergency food assistance to India.

Whereas the Congress has declared it to be the policy of the United States to combat hunger and malnutrition and to encourage economic development in the developing countries; and

Whereas two years of drought have caused a grave food shortage in India which threatens the lives and health of millions of people; and

Whereas the urgency of the need of the Indian people and the time needed for congressional deliberation have required the United States already to commit three million six hundred thousand tons of grain valued at \$275,000,000 as a part of the eight to ten million tons of grain estimated to be required during the calendar year 1967 from outside

India to prevent irreparable hardship to the people of India;
and

Whereas the programs of economic and agricultural development which have been launched by the Government of India would be seriously impaired if the international community failed to act promptly and on an adequate scale to meet the urgent needs of the people of India: Therefore be it

1 *Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives*
2 *of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*
3 That the Congress approves the participation of the United
4 States in cooperation with other countries and with multi-
5 lateral organizations, including the International Bank for
6 Reconstruction and Development, the Organization for Eco-
7 nomic Cooperation and Development, the Food and Agri-
8 culture Organization, and others, in urgent international
9 efforts designed to—

10 (a) develop a comprehensive self-help approach
11 to the war on hunger based on a fair sharing of the
12 burden among the nations of the world;

13 (b) encourage and assist the Government of India
14 in achieving food self-sufficiency; and

15 (c) help meet India's critical food and nutritional

1 needs by making available agricultural commodities or
2 other resources needed for food procurement or pro-
3 duction.

4 Because uncertainty in connection with Public Law 480
5 transactions tends to depress market prices, it is the sense
6 of Congress that, in carrying out this Aid to India program,
7 the Administration should make announcements of intention,
8 purchases and shipments of commodities on schedules and
9 under circumstances which will protect and strengthen farm
10 market prices to the maximum extent possible.

11 The Congress endorses the President's policy of equal
12 participation on the part of the United States with all other
13 nations, under terms and conditions set forth in Public Law
14 480, as amended, in assisting the Government of India to
15 meet these needs.

16 Further, the Congress recommends, on the basis of esti-
17 mates now available, that the United States provide an addi-
18 tional amount of food grain not to exceed three million tons
19 at an estimated cost of \$190,000,000 as the United States
20 share toward meeting the India food deficit, provided it is
21 appropriately matched, and specifically extends its support
22 to the allocation of approximately \$190,000,000 of funds

1 available to the Commodity Credit Corporation in calendar
2 year 1967 which will be required to accomplish this purpose.

3 The Congress further recommends that the President
4 provide an additional \$25,000,000 of emergency food relief
5 for distribution by CARE and other American voluntary
6 agencies.

Passed the House of Representatives March 9, 1967.

Attest:

W. PAT JENNINGS,

Clerk.

80TH CONGRESS
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15. ECONOMY; TAXATION. Sen. Proxmire discussed the proposed tax increase and stated, "Under present circumstances, with a cost-push inflation far more threatening than a demand-pull inflation, the advantage of reducing spending rather than increasing taxes deserves special weight." p. S3814
16. AIR POLLUTION. Sen. Byrd, W. Va., inserted an article, "Clean Air and Plentiful Fuel--The Nation Must Have Both." pp. S3799-3800
17. CCC. Received a GAO report of "examination of financial statements, fiscal year 1966, Commodity Credit Corporation." p. S3779
18. NATIONAL PARKS. Received from the Interior Department proposed bills to revise the boundary of Grand Canyon National Park and to authorize the establishment of the Redwood National Park, Calif., and to provide economic assistance to local governmental bodies affected thereby; to Interior and Insular Affairs Committee. p. S3779
19. FOOD FOR INDIA. The Agriculture Committee reported with amendment H. J. Res. 267, to support emergency food assistance to India. (S. Rept. 70), p. S3780
20. TOBACCO. The Agriculture Committee reported without amendment H. J. Res. 273, to repeal a restriction on transfer of unused Maryland tobacco allotments which does not apply to other types of tobacco (S. Rept. 69). p. S3780
21. LAND. The Agriculture Committee reported without amendment S. 219, to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to sell certain Forest Service land in Lander, Wyo. (S. Rept. 68). p. S3780
Sen. Williams, N. J., spoke in favor of his bill, the proposed Interstate Land Sales Full Disclosure Act, and inserted an article in support of this measure. p. S3835
22. ADMINISTRATIVE PRACTICES. Sen. Pearson spoke in favor of his bill S. 47, which would create a Commission to study and appraise the organization and operation of the executive branch of the Government. pp. S3805-6
23. NOMINATIONS. The Agriculture Committee reported favorably on the nomination of Paul Dobson and Millard Dailey to be members of the Federal Farm Credit Board, Farm Credit Administration. p. S3780.
24. MIGRATORY FARM LABOR. The Subcommittee on Migratory Labor of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare submitted a report on "The Migratory Farm Labor Problem in the U. S." p. S3791
25. WATERSHED. The Agriculture Committee approved a watershed project at Rock Creek (Wells), Ind. p. D176

ITEMS IN APPENDIX

26. DAYLIGHT TIME. Extension of remarks of Rep. Hall favoring daylight time for a period of 3 months. p. A1303
27. TRADING STAMPS. Rep. Multer inserted a history of trading stamps. pp. A1304-

28. WORLD FOOD. Rep. Langen inserted Herbert J. Waters', Asst. Admin. for War on Hunger, speech, "Food and U. S. Foreign Policy." pp. A1308-10
29. WATER. Extension of remarks of Rep. Udall asking for affirmative action on water problems in the Colorado River Basin. p. A1312
30. FARM LABOR. Extension of remarks of Rep. Talcott criticizing new minimum wage rate for Calif. farm laborers and inserting an article, "Wirtz Issues New Wage Criteria Well Above National Agricultural Minimum." p. A1324
31. CCC. Extension of remarks of Rep. Findley expressing concern "over the recent action of the CCC" and suggesting that "We should determine what, and where, changes should be made following a thorough appraisal of the operations of the CCC." pp. A1327-8

BILLS INTRODUCED

32. DAIRY. H. R. 7228 by Rep. Harrison and H. R. 7255 by Rep. Steiger, Wisc., to regulate imports of milk and dairy products; to Ways and Means Committee.
H. R. 7272 by Rep. Brotzman, to establish a program of dairy import regulation; to Ways and Means Committee.
33. PERSONNEL. H. R. 7273 by Rep. Broyhill, Va., to amend title 5, United States Code, to liberalize the age and service requirements for immediate retirement of Government employees; to Post Office and Civil Service Committee.
H. R. 7302 by Rep. Reid, N. Y., to adjust the compensation of certain Federal officers and employees; to Post Office and Civil Service Committee.
34. RECREATION. H. R. 7229 by Rep. Helstoski, to establish the Sandy Hook National Seashore in the State of New Jersey; to Interior and Insular Affairs Committee.
S. 1300 by Sen. Jackson, to revise the boundary of Grand Canyon National Park; to Interior and Insular Affairs Committee. Remarks of author pp. S3785-6
35. RESEARCH. S. 1305 by Sen. Allott, to establish a joint congressional committee to make a continuing study of the programs and operations of the Federal Government relating to science and technology; to Labor and Public Welfare Committee. Remarks of author pp. S3790-1
36. IMPORTS. H. R. 7216 by Rep. Anderson, Ill., to amend the Tariff Act of 1930 to require certain new packages of imported articles to be marked to indicate the country of origin; to Ways and Means Committee.
37. LIVESTOCK. H. R. 7217 by Rep. Andrews, N. Dak., to amend the Packers and Stockyards Act, 1921, as amended; to Agriculture Committee.
38. ORGANIZATION. H. R. 7220 by Rep. Collier, to establish a National Commission on Public Management; to Government Operations Committee.
39. TAXATION. H. R. 7235 by Rep. Minish, to prohibit any State from levying income taxes on nonresidents of the State; to Judiciary Committee.
40. TRADE. H. R. 7247 by Rep. Quie, to control unfair trade practices affecting producers of agricultural products and associations of such producers; to Agriculture Committee.

EMERGENCY FOOD ASSISTANCE TO INDIA

MARCH 15, 1967.—Ordered to be printed

Mr. MILLER, from the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry,
submitted the following

R E P O R T

[To accompany H.J. Res. 267]

The Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, to which was referred the joint resolution (H.J. Res. 267) to support emergency food assistance to India, having considered the same, reports favorably thereon with an amendment and recommends that the joint resolution as amended do pass.

On February 2 the President transmitted his message on food for India to Congress. In that message he emphasized the need for self-help by the developing nations, multilateral participation in assistance programs, and comprehensive planning to assist India. He outlined his recommendations and requested their consideration by Congress.

House Joint Resolution 267 expresses congressional approval of various actions proposed by the President. It approves the concepts of self-help, multilateral action, and comprehensive planning. It recommends that the United States provide up to an additional 3 million tons of food grains to India and an additional \$25 million of emergency food relief for distribution by American voluntary agencies. Nothing in the resolution changes or affects existing law in any manner. It is purely and simply an expression of approval by Congress, based on present circumstances and current estimates, of a program which the President has outlined and which can be carried out without additional legislation.

The resolution further expresses the sense of Congress that to avoid price depressing uncertainty, the administration, in carrying out the program, should make announcements of intention, purchases, and shipments on schedules and under circumstances designed to strengthen farm market prices to the maximum extent possible. Since the resolution in no way changes existing law, any such announcement would necessarily be subject to the requirement of section 401

of Public Law 480 regarding the availability of the commodity at the time of exportation. That requirement is as follows:

No commodity shall be available for disposition under this Act if such disposition would reduce the domestic supply of such commodity below that needed to meet domestic requirements, adequate carryover, and anticipated exports for dollars as determined by the Secretary of Agriculture at the time of exportation of such commodity.

Because the provision just quoted might prevent an announced intention from being fully carried out, the committee felt it should be made clear that such was the case, and has recommended an amendment to that effect.

BACKGROUND

The need for massive aid to India and the President's program therefor are set out in the message of February 2 and the testimony of the Secretary of Agriculture on Senate Joint Resolution 29, the companion resolution to House Joint Resolution 267. In addition to being unable to increase its production in proportion to its population increase, India suffered severe drought in its 1965-66 and 1966-67 crop years. Its level of production of food grains rose from 80 million tons in the early sixties to a record 89 million tons in 1964-65, then dropped to 72 million tons in 1965-66; reports indicate that the level may reach only 79 million tons in 1966-67. Last year India imported 10.2 million tons, of which 8.1 million tons came from the United States. This calendar year it is estimated that another 10 million tons will have to be imported as shown in the following table:

Calendar year 1967:		Million tons
Food grain requirement to prevent famine in India as determined by World Bank, United States, and Indian officials.....		10.0
U.S. allocations last year to be delivered in 1967.....		.7
U.S. allocated in 1967.....		.9
U.S. interim allocation pursuant to President's message of Feb. 2, 1967.....		2.0
U.S. proposed addition to be appropriately matched by other countries pursuant to H.J. Res. 267, up to.....		3.0
Proposed U.S. supply subtotal, up to.....		6.6
Additional food grain aid from other countries pledged to date:		
Canada.....		.18
Australia.....		.15
U.S.S.R.....		.20
Commercial purchases by India.....		.20
Expected additional contribution by other countries to multilateral food grain aid program.....		2.67
Other countries and Indian commercial purchases subtotal.....		3.40
Summary:		
Total proposed U.S. supply, up to.....		6.6
Total other country supply.....		3.4
Grand total.....		10.0

COMMITTEE CONSIDERATION

The committee did not have extensive hearings, there being no opposition to the measure, but it did hear testimony in support of the resolution, including that by the Secretary of Agriculture and the Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs. This testimony has been printed.

The committee gave consideration, in addition, to recommendations contained in the report of the House Committee on Agriculture on this measure with respect to small business participation in sales under Public Law 480 and shipment of grain products to India.

Like the House committee, this committee wishes to emphasize that in future agreements with India it expects all of the terms and conditions set forth in Public Law 480, as amended last year, to be fully and effectively implemented.

In this respect the committee points out that section 103(e) includes the requirement: “* * * that small business has adequate and fair opportunity to participate in sales made under the authority of this act.”

This language was approved by the House, remained unchanged in the conference between the House and the Senate, and was a part of the bill signed into law by the President.

In spite of this unanimity on the part of Congress, the Department of Agriculture has not adequately implemented this provision of the 1966 act. According to the committee's information, export of commodities under Public Law 480, as amended, is still being monopolized by a few big companies, some of them foreign owned.

The committee, therefore, feels that before shipments to India are undertaken pursuant to the recommendations of this resolution, the Department of Agriculture should issue and put into effect adequate regulations designed to carry out the provision of existing law to assure small business enterprise in the United States a “fair and adequate opportunity to participate in sales” as required by the 1966 amendments to Public Law 480.

With respect to grain product shipments, the committee points out that the contemplated additional grain shipments to India may be in the form of products and it urges the Secretary, utilizing his authority under Public Law 480, to make a reasonable amount available in product form.

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

The President's message outlining his program and requesting the consideration and judgment of Congress with respect to it is as follows:

[H. Doc. 51, 97th Cong., first sess.]

FOOD FOR INDIA

Message from the President of the United States transmitting a proposal that the United States join an international effort to help the Government of India stave off the threat of famine

To the Congress of the United States:

I

Last February I proposed that all mankind join in a war against man's oldest enemy: hunger.

Last March I proposed that the United States take part in an urgent international effort to help the Government of India stave off the threat of famine.

I address you today to report progress in organizing the war against hunger and to seek your counsel on steps still to be taken. For again this year, drought in India—as in other nations—underlines the cruel mathematics of hunger and calls for action.

The problem is immense. It cannot be solved unless each country reaches a considered judgment on the course to be pursued. The greatest power on earth is the will of free peoples, expressed through the deliberative processes of their national assemblies. I ask you today to take the lead in a vital act of democratic affirmation.

India is not alone in facing the specter of near famine. One-half of the world's people confront this same problem.

India's plight reminds us that our generation can no longer evade the growing imbalance between food production and population growth. India's experience teaches that something more must be done about it.

From our own experience and that of other countries, we know that something can be done. We know that an agricultural revolution is within the capacity of modern science.

We know that land can be made to produce much more food—enough food for the world's population, if reasonable population policies are pursued. Without some type of voluntary population program, however, the nations of the world—no matter how generous—will not be able to keep up with the food problem.

We know, too, that failure to act—and to act now—will multiply the human suffering and political unrest, not only in our generation but in that of our children and their children.

The aim of the war against hunger is to help developing nations meet this challenge. It is the indispensable first step on the road to progress.

If we are to succeed, all nations—rich and poor alike—must join together and press the agricultural revolution with the same spirit, the same energy, and the same sense of urgency that they apply to their own national defense. Nothing less is consistent with the human values at stake.

Last year, many responded to India's emergency. Canada was particularly generous in sending food aid. Each member of the India aid consortium made a special effort to meet India's need. Non-members, Australia among others, also helped. The private contributions of the Italian and Dutch people were especially heartwarming. But the bleak facts require a sustained international effort on a greater scale. Today I propose that all nations make the new Indian emergency the occasion to start a continuing worldwide campaign against hunger.

II

The first obligation of the community of man is to provide food for all of its members. This obligation overrides political differences and differences in social systems.

No single nation or people can fulfill this common obligation. No nation should be expected to do so. Every country must participate to insure the future of all. Every country that makes a determined effort to achieve sufficiency in food will find our Government, our technical experts, and our people its enthusiastic partners. The United States is prepared to do its share.

In pursuing the war on hunger, the world must face up to stark new facts about food in our times.

Food is scarce. Nowhere is there a real surplus. Food aid must be allocated according to the same priorities that govern other development assistance.

Per capita food production is many parts of the less-developed world is not increasing. In some cases, it is even declining. This grim fact reflects both a rising curve of population and a lagging curve of agricultural production.

There is no substitute for self-help. The first responsibility of each nation is to supply the food its people needs. The war against hunger can only be won by the efforts of the developing nations themselves.

Food aid is a stopgap, not a permanent cure. It must be viewed as part of a nation's effort to achieve sufficiency in food, not as a substitute for it.

Agriculture must receive a much higher priority in development plans and programs. The developing nations can no longer take food supplies for granted, while they concentrate on industrial development alone, or spend vitally needed resources on unnecessary military equipment.

Agricultural development must be planned as part of a nation's overall economic and social program. Achieving a balance between population and resources is as important as achieving a balance between industrial and agricultural growth.

Fertilizer, seed, and pesticides must be provided in much greater quantities than ever before. Their use increases food production and permanently changes the productive capability of farmers. A ton of fertilizer properly used this year can mean several tons of grain next year.

All advanced nations—including those which import food—must share the burden of feeding the hungry and building their capacity to feed themselves.

The war on hunger is too big for governments alone. Victory cannot come unless businessmen, universities, foundations, voluntary agencies, and cooperatives join the battle.

Developing nations with food deficits must put more of their resources into voluntary family planning programs.

These are the facts your Government has been stressing throughout the world. Many of them are unpleasant. But our lives are pledged to the conviction that free people meet their responsibilities when they face the truth.

These facts draw into bold relief the two main thrusts in the offensive against hunger:

First, the hungry nations of the world must be helped to achieve the capacity to grow the food their people need or to buy what they cannot grow.

Second, until they can achieve this goal, the developed nations must help meet their needs by food shipments on generous terms.

The level of food aid will decline as self-help measures take hold. Until that point is reached, food aid is an inescapable duty of the world community.

III

During the past year, the advanced nations have made progress in preparing the ground for the international war on hunger.

First, the pattern of international cooperation has steadily improved.

Last July we were pleased to act as host to a high-level meeting of the Development Assistance Committee of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development which focused primarily on the world food problem.

We encouraged greater contributions to the world food program by increasing our pledge to that program and by offering to match with commodities contributions in both cash and commodities from other countries.

We cosponsored a resolution in the United Nations that launched a U.N.-Food and Agriculture Organization study of whether and how to organize a multilateral food aid program of vastly larger proportions.

In the Kennedy round of trade negotiations, we have advanced a proposal to make available from all sources 10 million tons of food grains annually for food aid, to be supported by grain exporters and importers alike. This proposal is now being discussed in Geneva as part of an international cereals arrangement.

We are now participating in a study initiated by the Food and Agriculture Organization—in cooperation with the World Bank, the U.N., and the OECD—to examine how multilateral action might increase the availability and effective use of fertilizers and other materials needed to speed up agricultural production.

At the OECD ministerial meeting this fall, we advanced a proposal to develop an agricultural food fund to encourage private investment in the basic agricultural industries of the developing countries.

Second, the United States encouraged a multilateral response to last year's emergency in India.

The worst drought of the century threatened millions with starvation and countless more with disease born of malnutrition. As a result, I recommended, and you in the Congress approved, a program to send over 8 million tons of food grain to India. In an un-

precedented display of common concern, governments, private organizations, and individuals in 42 other nations joined in providing \$180 million in food and other commodities to meet the needs of that country. Overall, India imported almost 11 million tons of grain and used several million tons from its own emergency food reserves.

The fact that India did not experience famine ranks among the proudest chapters in the history of international cooperation. But last year's effort—heartening as it was—was hasty and improvised. The world must organize its response to famine, both today and for the years ahead.

Third, this year's economic aid program makes agricultural development a primary objective.

The AID program, which I will shortly send to the Congress, includes funds to finance imports of fertilizer, irrigation pumps, and other American equipment and know-how necessary to improve agriculture in the developing countries.

Fourth, I proposed and the Congress enacted far-reaching legislation which provides the strong foundation for the new-food-for freedom program.

The central theme of the program is self-help. The legislation authorized concessional sales of food to countries which prove their determination to expand their own food production.

IV

All of us know where the real battle is fought. Whatever the efforts in world capitals, the real tale is told on the land. It is the man behind the mule or the bullock or the water buffalo who must be reached. Only his own government and his own people can reach him.

Thus, the most important progress of the past year has occurred in the developing countries themselves. And there is progress to report.

India—the largest consumer of food aid—perhaps provides the best example.

This has been a year of innovation in Indian agriculture. Agricultural development now has top priority in India's economic plan. Much remains to be done. But the evidence is unmistakable. India has started on the right path. India has—

Imposed a food rationing system to make efficient use of existing supplies.

Streamlined its transportation system to improve distribution.

Increased prices paid to the farmer, thus providing new incentives to use fertilizer, improved seeds, and other modern materials.

Begun large-scale operations with new varieties of rice introduced from Taiwan and with large quantities of high-yielding wheat seed imported from Mexico.

Approved plans to increase public investment in agriculture by more than 100 percent during the new 5-year plan.

Started to expand rural credit, improve water supply and accelerate the distribution of fertilizer to remote areas.

Stepped up family planning.

Negotiated an agreement for the first of several externally financed fertilizer plants to expand India's supply of home-produced fertilizers.

India is off to a good start. But it is only a start. As Indian officials have warned, hard work remains in reaching targets they have set and in improving cooperation among State governments. India's economic problems are enormous. But they can be solved.

What India has begun to do represents the growing realization in the developing world that long-term economic growth is dependent on growth in agriculture. Not every country has made an effort as great as India. But in some countries, production has improved more rapidly.

Everywhere there is an air of change. No longer does industrial development alone attract the best minds and talents. Agriculture is now attracting the young and more enterprising economists, administrators, and entrepreneurs in the developing world.

This is the best measure of progress in the war on hunger and the best assurance of success.

V

India's food problem requires a major commitment of our resources and those of other advanced countries. India's population is equal to that of 66 members of the United Nations.

Broad authority exists under our legislation for national action by executive decision alone. But the issues presented here are of such moment, and on such a scale, as to make it important that we act together, as we do on other great issues, on the firm foundation of a joint resolution of Congress.

I ask you to support the broad approach we have proposed to the international community as a basic strategy for the war on hunger. That strategy rests on three essential principles:

1. *Self-help*.—The war on hunger can be won only by the determined efforts of the developing nations themselves. International aid can help them. But it can only help if they pursue well-conceived and well-executed long-range plans of their own.

2. *Multilateral participation*.—The assistance of the international community must be organized in a coalition of the advanced and the developing nations.

3. *Comprehensive planning*.—The international community must develop a comprehensive plan to assist India to fulfill its program of achieving food sufficiency, not only during this year, but for the next few years as well.

Most of you are familiar with the events of the past year. Drought limited India's food grain production to 72 million tons in the 1965-66 crop year, compared with a record 88 million tons the previous year. A massive international emergency program met the immediate crisis. But India had to use precious food reserves—that are thus not available to meet the shortages created by a second successive bad crop.

The weather since then has brought little relief. The general outlook is slightly improved, and overall production may reach 79 million tons this year. But late last summer a severe drought hit heavily populated areas in north-central India. Unless Indian production is supplemented by substantial imports—perhaps 10 million tons by present estimates for calendar 1967—more than 70 million people will experience near famine.

The Government of India has already taken internal measures to move grain from its more fortunate areas to the drought areas. Imports of 2.3 million tons of grain are now in the pipeline to meet India's

needs for the first 2 or 3 months of 1967. India has purchased some 200,000 tons of this grain with her own scarce foreign exchange. Canada with 185,000 tons, Australia with 150,000 tons, and the Soviet Union with 200,000 tons have already joined the United States with its 1.6 million tons, in an impressive multilateral effort to help.

India's immediate problem—and the world's problem—is to fill the remaining gap for the balance of this year.

Because these facts bear heavily on the extent of U.S. food shipments, I have requested and received careful verification from our Ambassador in New Delhi, from the Secretary of Agriculture, and from Members of Congress who have recently been in India, including Senator McGee and Senator Moss.

I am particularly grateful to Representative Poage and Representative Dole and Senator Miller, who at my request made a special trip to India in December to assess the situation on the ground. Their careful and thorough analysis of the situation in India and their recommendations to me have been of great value.

During the last 2 weeks, the Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs and the Under Secretary of Agriculture have consulted in New Delhi and with most members of the World Bank's India consortium.

The work of all these men and the diplomatic efforts of the Government of India have laid the foundation for the steps we must now take.

The United States cannot—and should not—approach this problem alone or on an improvised basis. We must support the Indian Government's efforts to enlist the aid of other nations in developing a systematic and international approach to the problems of Indian agriculture. Our long-term objective is to help India achieve its goal of virtual self-sufficiency in grain by the early 1970's. Meanwhile, as part of that effort, we must help India meet its immediate food needs.

VI

In line with policies established by the Congress, and after promising consultations with the Government of India and other governments involved, I recommend the following steps to achieve these objectives:

First: Our basic policy is to approach the problem of Indian food through the India Aid Consortium organized under the chairmanship of the World Bank. That consortium has already developed a multilateral approach to economic assistance for India. Now we propose to make food aid a part of that multilateral assistance program. We seek effective multilateral arrangements to integrate Indian food aid with broader programs of economic assistance and with capital and technical assistance for agricultural development.

In a preliminary way, we have consulted with the Government of India and with other members of the consortium. There is substantial agreement among consortium members on the major points of our proposal:

Meeting food needs of India during this emergency should be accepted as an international responsibility in which each nation should share;

Emergency food and food-related aid should be coordinated through the World Bank consortium;

This aid should not diminish the flow of resources for other development programs. It should be in addition to the targets for each country suggested by the World Bank.

Adding food aid to the responsibilities of the consortium is sound economics and fair burden sharing. The consortium provides a proper channel for the food and food-related aid of donors who have not previously been involved in the food field. It will make clear that food provided from outside is as much a real contribution to Indian development as capital for specific projects or foreign exchange assistance for import programs.

Second: Should this program be established, we will support the Indian consortium as it:

- Undertakes a detailed projection of Indian food production and food aid requirements;

- Prepares a program for nonfood imports required to meet food production targets, as the basis for determining the equitable share of each donor; and

- Reviews India's self-help efforts, reports regularly on progress, and identifies areas for future concentration of energies.

Third: We must take prompt action to help India meet its emergency food needs. Our best present estimate is that India needs deliveries of 10 million tons of food grains this year or roughly \$725 million worth of food; 2.3 million tons, worth roughly \$185 million, are already in the pipeline from a number of countries, including our own. To keep food in the pipeline, I am making an immediate allocation of 2 million tons, worth nearly \$150 million, to tide India over while the Congress acts.

I recommend that Congress approve a commitment to share fully in the international effort to meet India's remaining food grain deficit of 5.7 million tons—worth about \$400 million. To that end, I recommend a U.S. allocation of an additional amount of food grain, not to exceed 3 million tons, provided it is appropriately matched by other countries. I recommend that approximately \$190 million available to the Commodity Credit Corporation in calendar 1967 be used for this purpose. These funds, if allotted, will have to be replenished by appropriation in fiscal 1968.

Fourth: I recommend your approval of an allocation of \$25 million in food commodities for distribution by CARE and other American voluntary agencies, to assist the Government of India in an emergency feeding program in the drought areas of Bihar and Uttar Pradesh.

Fifth: We hope other donors will accelerate their exports of fertilizers to India.

Unless the application of chemical fertilizers rises sharply in India, she will not be able to meet her food grain targets. Those fertilizer targets are ambitious, yet they must be met and, if possible, exceeded. Marshaling more fertilizer imports is as important to meeting India's emergency as gathering additional grain. India herself must take prompt steps to increase her fertilizer investment and production and improve its distribution.

Sixth: I propose for the longer run to continue encouraging U.S. private investors to participate in India's program to expand production of chemical fertilizers. We will urge other governments to encourage their own producers.

Seventh: We intend to pursue other initiatives in the broader context of world agricultural development:

We shall continue to press for multilateral efforts in every international forum in which we participate, including the current negotiations to establish a food-aid program as part of an international cereals arrangement.

We shall continue our policy of encouraging private capital and technology to join the war on hunger.

We shall press for the creation of an investment guarantee fund by the OECD to encourage private investment in the agricultural industries of developing countries.

We shall make available to food-deficit nations the technology our scientists have now developed for producing fish protein concentrate.

We shall look to the study by the President's Science Advisory Committee on the problems of food production to supply further and more definitive guidelines for near-term action and for long-range planning.

None of these steps can be as important as Indian resolve and Indian performance. The Indian Government is committed to a bold program of agricultural modernization. That program is the foundation for the entire international effort to help India. We believe that a self-reinforcing process of improvement is underway in India, affecting both agricultural techniques and Government administration. On the basis of that conviction, we can move forward to do our share under the food for freedom program of 1966.

VII

I believe these proposals are in our national interest. I believe that they reflect the deepest purposes of our national spirit.

I am asking the Congress, and the American people, to join with me in this effort and in an appeal to all the nations of the world that can help. I am asking the Congress to consider thoroughly my recommendations and to render its judgment. The executive branch, this Nation, and other nations will give full attention to the contributions that congressional debate may produce.

There are many legitimate claims on our resources. Some may question why we devote a substantial portion to a distant country.

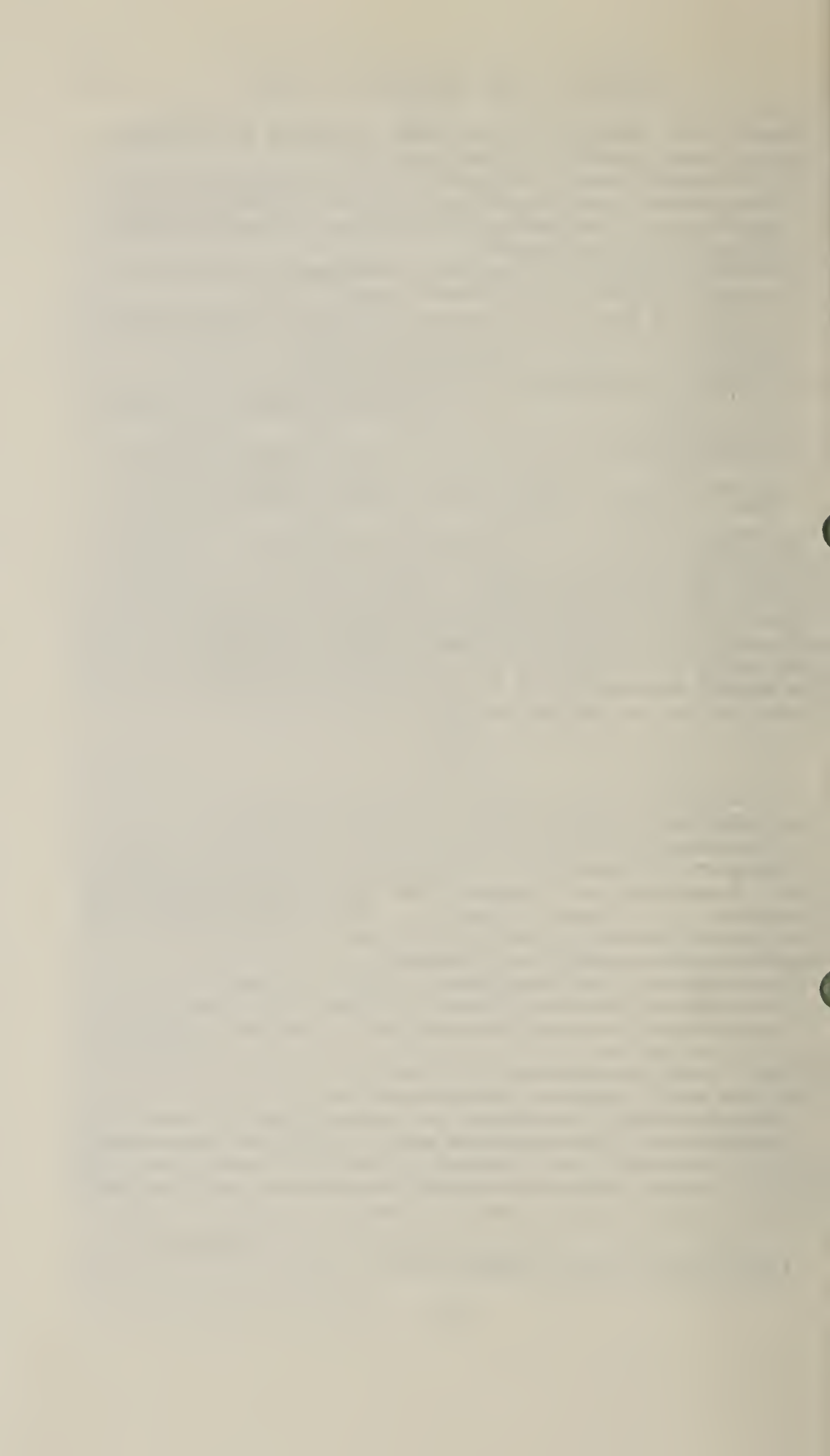
The history of this century is ample reply. We have never stood idly by while famine or pestilence raged among any part of the human family. America would cease to be America if we walked by on the other side when confronted by such catastrophe.

The great lesson of our time is the interdependence of man. My predecessors and I have recognized this fact. All that we and other nations have sought to accomplish in behalf of world peace and economic growth would be for naught if the advanced countries failed to help feed the hungry in their day of need.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, *February 2, 1967.*





Calendar No. 73

90TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. J. RES. 267

[Report No. 70]

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

MARCH 10, 1967

Read twice and referred to the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry

MARCH 15, 1967

Reported by Mr. MILLER, with an amendment

[Insert the part printed in italic]

JOINT RESOLUTION

To support emergency food assistance to India.

Whereas the Congress has declared it to be the policy of the United States to combat hunger and malnutrition and to encourage economic development in the developing countries; and

Whereas two years of drought have caused a grave food shortage in India which threatens the lives and health of millions of people; and

Whereas the urgency of the need of the Indian people and the time needed for congressional deliberation have required the United States already to commit three million six hundred thousand tons of grain valued at \$275,000,000 as a part of the eight to ten million tons of grain estimated to be required during the calendar year 1967 from outside

India to prevent irreparable hardship to the people of India; and

Whereas the programs of economic and agricultural development which have been launched by the Government of India would be seriously impaired if the international community failed to act promptly and on an adequate scale to meet the urgent needs of the people of India: Therefore be it

1 *Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives*
2 *of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*
3 That the Congress approves the participation of the United
4 States in cooperation with other countries and with multi-
5 lateral organizations, including the International Bank for
6 Reconstruction and Development, the Organization for Eco-
7 nomic Cooperation and Development, the Food and Agri-
8 culture Organization, and others, in urgent international
9 efforts designed to—

10 (a) develop a comprehensive self-help approach
11 to the war on hunger based on a fair sharing of the
12 burden among the nations of the world;

13 (b) encourage and assist the Government of India
14 in achieving food self-sufficiency; and

15 (c) help meet India's critical food and nutritional
16 needs by making available agricultural commodities or
17 other resources needed for food procurement or pro-
18 duction.

1 Because uncertainty in connection with Public Law 480
2 transactions tends to depress market prices, it is the sense
3 of Congress that, in carrying out this Aid to India program,
4 the Administration should, *subject to the requirement of*
5 *section 401 of Public Law 480 with respect to the avail-*
6 *ability of the commodity at the time of exportation*, make
7 announcements of intention, purchases and shipments of com-
8 modities on schedules and under circumstances which will
9 protect and strengthen farm market prices to the maximum
10 extent possible.

11 The Congress endorses the President's policy of equal
12 participation on the part of the United States with all other
13 nations, under terms and conditions set forth in Public Law
14 480, as amended, in assisting the Government of India to
15 meet these needs.

16 Further, the Congress recommends, on the basis of esti-
17 mates now available, that the United States provide an addi-
18 tional amount of food grain not to exceed three million tons
19 at an estimated cost of \$190,000,000 as the United States
20 share toward meeting the India food deficit, provided it is
21 appropriately matched, and specifically extends its support
22 to the allocation of approximately \$190,000,000 of funds
23 available to the Commodity Credit Corporation in calendar
24 year 1967 which will be required to accomplish this purpose.

25 The Congress further recommends that the President

1 provide an additional \$25,000,000 of emergency food relief
 2 for distribution by CARE and other American voluntary
 3 agencies.

Passed the House of Representatives March 9, 1967.

Attest:

W. PAT JENNINGS,

Clerk.

90TH CONGRESS
 - 1ST SESSION

H. J. RES. 267

[Report No. 70]

JOINT RESOLUTION

To support emergency food assistance to India.

MARCH 10, 1967

Read twice and referred to the Committee on
 Agriculture and Forestry

MARCH 15, 1967

Reported with an amendment

Calendar No. 73

March 16, 1967

16. EASTER RECESS. Rep. Albert announced that at the close of business on Thurs., Mar. 23, until the opening of business on Mon., Apr. 3, there will be an Easter recess. p. H2829
17. ADJOURNED until Mon., Mar. 20. p. H2911

SENATE

18. FOOD FOR INDIA. Passed as reported H. J. Res. 267, to support emergency food assistance to India (pp. S3933-7). The committee amendment makes the proposed legislation "subject to the requirement of section 401 of Public Law 480 with respect to the availability of the commodity at the time of exportation," designed to strengthen farm market prices to the maximum extent possible. For further provisions of this measure see Digest No. 38.
19. PUBLIC LAND. Passed without amendment S. 219 to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to sell certain (Forest Service) land in Lander, Wyo. pp. S3950-1
- DAIRY IMPORTS. Sen. Young, N. D., spoke in favor of S. 612, proposed legislation to restrict dairy imports. p. S3988
21. BUDGET. Sen. Fannin criticized the Administration's method of reporting the Federal budget and inserted an article on this subject. p. S3995
22. AIR POLLUTION. Sen. Muskie inserted a speech by Sen. Boggs on "Modification of the Clean Air Act." pp. S4000-1
23. INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS. Sen. Boggs inserted a speech by Sen. Muskie on intergovernmental relations. pp. S3986-7
24. TRUTH-IN-LENDING. Sen. Proxmire inserted an article in support of the proposed truth-in-lending bill. pp. S3874-5
25. POVERTY. Several Senators commented on the merits of the President's proposed urban and rural poverty program. pp. S3876-7, S3970, S3976
Sen. Nelson inserted a speech by Sen. Clark on "A War to Escalate." pp. S3996-8
26. ECONOMY; TAXATION. Sen. Hartke spoke in favor of the bill to restore the 7 per cent investment tax credit and in opposition to the tax increase proposal. pp. S3937-40
27. EMPLOYMENT. Sen. Javits inserted his statement in support of proposed legislation to eliminate age discrimination in employment and introduced several amendments to S. 830 to eliminate discrimination in employment. pp. S3962-4
28. VETERANS. Sen. Gruening spoke in favor of his bill S. 1057, to give to veterans who served in Vietnam prior to Aug. 5, 1964, the same veterans benefits which would be provided to those serving after that date, and inserted a statement in support of this measure. pp. S3976-7
29. NOMINATIONS. Nominations of Paul Dobson and Millard Dailey to be members of the Federal Farm Credit Board were confirmed. p. S4006

30. ADJOURNMENT. Adjourned until Mon., Mar. 20. p. S4006

ITEMS IN APPENDIX

31. POVERTY. Speech in the House by Rep. Reuss suggesting the application of science and technology to more efficiently carry out poverty programs. p. A1379

32. FARM LABOR. Rep. Roybal inserted an article, "Bracero Boomerang--All Predictions About Ending the Program Were Wrong." pp. A1380-1

BILLS INTRODUCED

33. PERSONNEL. H. R. 7340 by Rep. Halpern, to provide for improved employee-management relations in the Federal service; to Post Office and Civil Service Committee.

H. R. 7346 by Rep. Olsen, to establish a basic work-week of 35 hours for Government employees; to Post Office and Civil Service Committee. Remarks of author, pp. H2842-3

H. R. 7373 by Rep. Gilbert, to authorize the retirement under the Civil Service Retirement Act, without reduction in annuity and regardless of age, of employees who have completed 30 years of service; to Post Office and Civil Service Committee.

34. TAXATION. H. R. 7348 by Rep. Rodino, and H. R. 7376 by Rep. Howard, to prohibit any State from levying income taxes on nonresidents of the State; to Judiciary Committee.

35. REA LOANS. H. R. 7390 by Rep. McMillan, H. R. 7391 by Rep. Herlong, H. R. 7392 by Rep. Teague, Calif., H. R. 7393 by Rep. Goodling, to amend the Rural Electrification Act of 1936, as amended, to establish a rural electrification loan account, to provide for an insured loan program; to Agriculture Committee. Remarks of Rep. McMillan, p. H2844.

36. FOREIGN AID. S. Res. 94 by Sen. Fulbright, to support certain objectives of U.S. policy with respect to Latin America; to Foreign Relations Committee. Remarks of author pp. S3944-50

37. MINERALS. S. 1311 by Sen. Moss, to amend the Mineral Leasing Act of February 25, 1920, as amended; to Interior and Insular Affairs Committee. Remarks of author pp. S3955-6

38. TRANSPORTATION. S. 1314 by Sen. Magnuson, to amend section 303(b) of the Interstate Commerce Act to modernize certain restrictions upon the application and scope of the exemption provided therein; to Commerce Committee. Remarks of author pp. S3957-8

39. HOUSING. H. R. 7357 by Rep. Button, to assist in the provision of housing for low income families by providing Federal guarantees for certain obligations issued by local housing agencies; to Banking and Currency Committee. Remarks of author p. H2850

40. DAIRY. H. R. 7360 by Rep. Chamberlain, to regulate imports of milk and dairy products; to Ways and Means Committee.

abilities to observe, to imagine, to experiment. It means helping him find joy in language, in music, in the arts and in the basic elements of science. It means helping him to develop pride in himself and faith in his capacities.

But merely to add years of public education without carefully tested methods, trained teachers, adequate facilities and a solid financial base could engender more problems than progress. As this audience knows so well, the human and financial resources of public education in many parts of the country are already spread perilously thin.

The ground for any such program must be prepared with meticulous care. Toward this end, I will propose in this session of Congress the following:

First, I will propose the establishment of a special division within the Department of Health, Education and Welfare, in order to coordinate the work and ideas of the present handful of early education specialists.

Second, I will urge that this division immediately launch a major study of the experiences of existing early education centers, calling on the guidance of experts in the fields of education, psychology, social services and health, with a view toward developing programs of early education that could appropriately and effectively be adopted by existing school systems.

Third, I will propose that Congress specifically fund a limited number of experimental and demonstration projects, designed to train teachers and to test a variety of concepts in the light of actual experience. These should include the establishment of early grade centers for four-to-eight year olds, a concept favored by many experts in the field.

Then, and only then—when a thorough study has been made, when special teacher training is under way, when experimental models have been tested and the results evaluated—in short, when we are ready—Congress should draft legislation to encourage states and localities in making early education available to all the children of all the people beginning at the age of four.

The steps I have outlined tonight represent the kind of action we in the Congress can provide. But ultimately, support for any program of this scale must come from the local level. If there is no response locally, there will be no response nationally.

So let me urge you to take the lead in your communities. For I feel that you share my belief that this nation requires a pervasive and unstinting public commitment to the pursuit of excellence in education—and that it must begin early.

I am not calling for an alternative, but a complement, to the role of the family. For the school can do only so much. If the home completely fails the child, the child is going to fail the home, the school and society.

It is essential, then, that we enlist the efforts of parents in this great venture. For example, I would like to see mothers employed as assistants in nursery schools. It would not only leave teachers more time to do what they are trained to do, but I believe the mothers would be more effective at home as a result of the experiences.

I believe we will all benefit—the child, the family, the school, the nation—if we make early schooling a part of the excitement of every childhood. The question is no longer whether we will make this commitment but when; the proposition is not if but how.

So let us begin for time now lost can never be regained by the new generation.

Lincoln said "The dogmas of the past are inadequate to the stormy present . . . As our cause is new so we must think anew and act anew."

As educators as administrators as legislators let us now so act.

Thank you.

SUPPORT FOR BILL PROVIDING LEGISLATIVE AUTHORITY FOR SELECT COMMITTEE ON SMALL BUSINESS

Mr. PROUTY. Mr. President, on February 6 of this year together with the Senator from Idaho [Mr. JORDAN], I offered an amendment to the bill, S. 355, which would have given to the Select Committee on Small Business to the Senate legislative authority; that is, the authority to receive and report to the floor bills and resolutions.

That amendment, which has been the substance of what is known as Senate Resolution 30 for the last three Congresses was unfortunately defeated by a vote of 58 to 27.

There is, however, support for this proposal throughout the country, and I hope that eventually it will receive approval of the Senate.

A wire which I received from Mr. George Burger, vice president of the National Federation of Independent Business indicates the support which that organization has for this proposal.

I ask unanimous consent that the contents of that telegram and also a column from the New York Times of February 7 relating to this amendment might be printed at this point in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the telegram and column were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HON. WINSTON PROUTY,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D.C.:

Congratulations on your consistent fight to bring about long overdue legislative relief for the small businessmen in this nation. I am referring to your Resolution, S. Res. 30, that would give legislative authority to the present Senate Small Business Committee. You hit the nail on the head in the debate on the floor of the Senate yesterday in support of your resolution when you said, "The corporate giants are forcing the nation's small businessmen to the wall at a constantly accelerated rate. If these small enterprises are not permitted to grow and prosper, the nation will suffer an irreparable loss in job opportunities and economic growth." Almost daily we are witnessing that trend in the small business structure nationwide. It is our hope and trust that the Congress will recognize this serious situation which is facing small business before small business is eventually eliminated in the free enterprise system. You are privileged to make known the contents of this wire to your colleagues.

GEORGE J. BURGER,
Vice President, National
Federation of Independent Business.

SENATE DEFEATS COMMITTEE PLAN—REJECTS A STRONGER ROLE FOR SMALL BUSINESS PANEL

WASHINGTON, Feb. 6.—The Senate defeated today, 58 to 27, an attempt to permit its Select Committee on Small Business to send legislation to the floor for action, as do regular and standing committees.

Senator Winston L. Prouty, Republican of Vermont who offered the proposal, said that it had the support of many small businessmen.

Under current rules, the committee may only investigate matters, hold hearings and make recommendations on proposals affecting small business.

Mr. Prouty offered his plan as an amendment to the Congressional reorganization bill now being debated by the Senate.

The proposal was killed on a tabling motion by Senator A. S. Mike Monroney, Democrat of Oklahoma, chief sponsor of the reorganization bill. Mr. Monroney contended that the needs of small business were now fully considered in the Senate Banking and Finance Committees.

Mr. Prouty replied, "The corporate giants are forcing the nation's small businessmen to the wall at a constantly accelerated rate. If these small enterprises are not permitted to grow and prosper, the nation will suffer an irreparable loss in job opportunities and economic growth."

The Senate debated the reorganization bill today for the eighth day with no end in sight. About 70 amendments have been filed.

MORE AMENDMENTS BEATEN

The Senate defeated by voice vote eight additional amendments by Senator Joseph S. Clark, Democrat of Pennsylvania, designed to reform or recodify the Senate's floor procedures. Only Mr. Clark voted for the changes; in each, four to seven senators voted no. Clark's proposals included:

Explicit recognition of the right of the majority and minority leaders to have precedence in being recognized to speak. This is the practice now but is not in the rules.

Rewriting of the point-of-orders rule to make it clear that a Senator can be interrupted for raising of such a point in certain circumstances.

Elimination of the right of an individual Senator to call for a quorum unless he is willing to have a vote on the pending question once the quorum is obtained.

Also defeated was a provision limiting debate on points of order to one hour.

DEATH OF VICTOR JOHNSON

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. President, I rise at this time to bring to the Senate the unfortunate news of the passing of a man well known to many of us, who served the Republican side and the Republican senatorial committee for many years, Mr. Victor Johnson.

Vic suffered a heart attack last Sunday and, unfortunately, passed away last night. Funeral arrangements are being made. The funeral will be held in Washington.

Senators may feel free to call my office. We will have all information as quickly as arrangements can be made.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Chair joins in expressing regret.

Mr. MURPHY. I thank the Chair.

EMERGENCY FOOD ASSISTANCE FOR INDIA

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of Calendar No. 73, House Joint Resolution 267.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The joint resolution will be stated by title.

The ASSISTANT LEGISLATIVE CLERK. Joint resolution (H.J. Res. 267) to support emergency food assistance to India, which was reported from the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, with an amendment, on page 3, line 4, after the word "should", to insert a comma and "subject to the requirement of section 401 of Public Law 480 with respect to the availability of the commodity at the time of exportation."

The VICE PRESIDENT. Is there objection to the present consideration of the joint resolution?

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the joint resolution.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, concerning the amendment, the House added an amendment to its original joint resolution. The original joint resolution expresses the sense of Congress that to avoid price-depressing uncertainty, the administration, in carrying out the program, should make announcements of intention, purchases, and shipments on schedules and under circumstances designed to strengthen farm market prices to the maximum extent possible. Since the joint resolution in no way changes existing law, any such announcement would necessarily be subject to the requirement of section 401 of Public Law 480 regarding the availability of the commodity at the time of exportation.

The amendment referred to makes it clear that its adoption is subject to that understanding.

EXPLANATION OF THE JOINT RESOLUTION

Mr. President, the purpose of the joint resolution is to put both the legislative branch and the executive branch of our Government on record on the subject of food aid to India. It sets forth a recommendation that our Government provide, in calendar year 1967, \$25 million of emergency food relief for distribution by CARE and other American voluntary agencies under title II of Public Law 480, as amended, and not to exceed 3 million tons of food grain, at an estimated cost of \$190 million, also under title II. This 3 million tons would be in addition to 3.6 million tons already furnished or in process of being furnished so far this year under the policy established by the India food aid resolution approved April 19, 1966.

Under the guidelines of this resolution, it will be seen that we would be on record in support of furnishing up to 6.6 million tons of food grains to India during calendar year 1967. This would be considerably less than the 8 million tons furnished during calendar year 1966, and it could represent approximately two-thirds of the 10 million tons estimated by the Department of Agriculture to be required by India from outside sources this calendar year. However, from roughly mid-May on, the 3 million tons recommended in this resolution would amount to only 50 percent of the estimated requirements for outside food aid.

The point should be made that the bulk of food aid to India will continue to be furnished by the United States until May; but thereafter we propose that Congress endorse a policy of the President that the United States furnish one half, with the Government of India having to look to the rest of the countries of the world for the other half. This other half could be contributed by other countries in the form of food grains themselves, in the form of cash to enable India to buy food grains in world markets, or, possibly, in the form of fertilizers and seed—which are only one crop period removed from food grains.

I believe the mid-May time for moving to a 50-50 sharing of food aid is a reasonable one. To do so sooner might well cause a break in the pipeline of food

aid, which would mean hardship to many people. It would be very difficult for the Government of India to work out arrangements with other countries so that their deliveries would come in before mid-May in order to keep the pipeline filled. And time is needed for other countries, including those forming an India food aid consortium, to work out their program.

On the other hand, it is believed that the time is at hand for the United States to reduce its food aid to a 50-50 basis. No longer do we have the reserve stocks available to do more. And with the tragedy of a terribly costly war on our hands, the people of the United States cannot at the same time continue to do for others as much as they could do otherwise. Many other nations are not sharing in the cost of this war, and it is only right for them to shoulder their share of the food problem which drought has visited upon the people of India.

You may note that the resolution is couched in terms of a self-help approach on the part of India in achieving food self-sufficiency, under terms and conditions set forth in the 1966 Food for Peace Act. It should not be implied from this that India is not making great strides in agricultural production. While it is true that there was an unfortunate delay in assigning priorities to agricultural production from her limited resources, India has finally done so. Needed policy changes have been made to encourage outside capital investment in fertilizer plants. Great emphasis is being placed on family planning clinics throughout the nation, with a view to moving toward a balance between population and food resources. The tragedy of two successive droughts in several parts of the country has caused a temporary crisis. Food aid is needed to enable a large democratic country, moving along the right road, to continue its progress and to prevent hunger, malnutrition, and possible starvation to millions of people. We should join with other nations in helping to meet this need.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a table from the committee report, bearing on this subject.

There being no objection, the table was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Calendar year 1967:	Million tons
Food grain requirement to prevent famine in India as determined by World Bank, United States, and Indian officials-----	10.0
U.S. allocation last year to be delivered in 1967-----	.7
U.S. allocated in 1967-----	.9
U.S. interim allocation pursuant to President's message of Feb. 2, 1967	2.0
U.S. proposed addition to be appropriately matched by other countries pursuant to H.J. Res. 267, up to -----	3.0
Proposed U.S. supply subtotal, up to-----	6.6
Additional food grain aid from other countries pledged to date:	
Canada -----	.18
Australia -----	.15
U.S.S.R. -----	.20

Calendar year 1967—Continued	Million tons
Commercial purchases by India-----	0.20
Expected additional contribution by other countries to multilateral food grain aid program-----	2.67

Other countries and Indian commercial purchases subtotal -----	3.40
--	------

Summary:

Total proposed U.S. supply, up to--	6.6
Total other country supply-----	3.4

Grand total-----	10.0
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Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, I move adoption of the amendment.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The question is on agreeing to the committee amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. McGOVERN. This resolution requested by the administration does not call for additional authority. It is a resolution of limitation—not of increased authorization. The Food for Peace Act of 1966 provides considerably more authorization for food assistance than is envisioned in the pending resolution.

The proposed resolution seeks to place certain limits on our food assistance to India in 1967 to accomplish two purposes: first, to bring about a greater effort by other nations to match U.S. food contributions to India; and second, to encourage greater efforts by the Indian Government and her people to increase their capacity to feed themselves.

Those are worthwhile objectives. I have been concerned, however, that the resolution might have the effect of painting us into a corner so that we would be unable to meet additional Indian food needs if present estimates are in error.

I have been assured, however, by Under Secretary of State Rostow and Secretary of Agriculture Freeman that there is enough leeway in the resolution and in the administration's position so that we can meet unforeseen food needs in India should the present estimates be in error. On the basis of these firm assurances by top-ranking administration officials, I have decided not to oppose the resolution.

Mr. MONDALE. Mr. President, I fully support this resolution declaring our support for continuation of food assistance to the famine-stricken people of India.

We have decided in the past that an attack on the specter of starvation—through sharing our agricultural abundance—is a matter of high national policy. This resolution continues that policy and reaffirms it.

The resolution also clarifies the cornerstone of our policy on food assistance to agriculturally underdeveloped nations. That cornerstone is our emphasis and insistence upon self-help and the development of self-sufficiency in those countries where population growth is outstripping food production.

We do insist on self-help because we know that in the long run the United States cannot feed the world alone. But until agricultural sufficiency is reached in India and other nations, we cannot and will not hoard our grain while those peoples starve.

One aspect of the resolution does raise problems, however. On its face it gives every appearance of limiting U.S. food aid to India to a maximum of 3 million additional tons of grain and only if matched by other nations.

I fully support our Government's desire to maintain a strong negotiating position in seeking to bring other nations into the war against hunger. The United States should not bear the burden alone. Others who can must also help.

But if our efforts to find additional food aid from other countries end in failure, and if the Indian famine continues, this resolution must not stand as a barrier to further U.S. assistance. During the hearings in the Senate Agriculture Committee, we received assurances that this resolution was flexible enough to permit us to feed those who are starving, despite what others might do.

I have received additional assurances, as has Senator McGovern, that our Government will not deny food aid to those who need it because of this resolution. With those assurances, I do intend to vote for the resolution as our committee has reported it.

We have asked our farmers to provide us the food in the war against hunger. I have said in the past, and say again, that we must pay them a decent and adequate return for the food produced for these donational programs. Our food aid programs cost money, and the cost must fall equally on all of us—not more heavily on the farmer. If this is truly a national policy, we cannot ask the farmer to carry the greatest share of the load.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, in my opinion, we are engaged here in an extremely healthful exercise of critical examination.

There is an old saying that "Charity sees the need, not the cause," and I might accept this saying if we were talking about aid to India as a once-only-and-done-with-it proposition. But India will need a helping hand, from us and many others, for a long time to come. And it is both appropriate and necessary that we become thoroughly familiar with both the need and the cause. Only this way can our assistance be fully effective.

From my own examination of India's need and the cause of her need, I have concluded that it is imperative that we continue for some time to provide food assistance in substantial amounts—though here I equally support the thought that India must do much more to improve her ability to feed herself and other developed countries must join with us, much more than they have done, in lending a hand.

I support the Joint Resolution and I hope my distinguished colleagues will see fit to do so, too.

I call attention to an excellent editorial on the subject of "Wheat for India" which appeared in the Washington Post on March 11. It summarizes the views held by many of us, and I would like to quote these two paragraphs which I think closely relate to our discussions today:

The joint resolution which sailed through the House on last Thursday by an overwhelming 310-to-63 vote, is an admirable compromise, all things considered. It calls for a United States contribution of an additional 3 million tons of wheat on top of the 3.6 million tons this country has already furnished for the current year, and ties this new shipment to an equivalent 3 million ton contribution from other donors. This effort to encourage others to help meet India's needs—and to encourage India to get busy soliciting this help—makes good sense. This country can't hope to go on supplying a major portion of India's food needs indefinitely, without artificially expanding surplus production far beyond present levels. Others, including the Russians as well as the French and the Canadians, must get the habit of pitching in more heavily.

"While the resolution is reasonably strict on this count, this will not exclude an Administration request for further shipments if India's food crisis worsens—and any additional American contribution would not be subject to the 50-50 ratio between our help and that of other countries. It is to be hoped that the Senate will follow the example of the House in combining firmness with a measure of flexibility.

Is ask unanimous consent that the editorial from the Washington Post of March 11, 1967, be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHEAT FOR INDIA

With just a little less largeness of spirit all around, the Administration's wheat-for-India legislation could have been badly mauled in the House of Representatives. Conservative elements were insistent on a hard line towards other potential donors, even at some risk that sufficient grain might not be forthcoming from this country to help fill an expected demand in India for at least 10 million tons of imported food grain this year. The liberals were just as concerned that no strings be attached which might inhibit this country from doing whatever might be needed to head off the threat of widespread famine.

The joint resolution which sailed through the House on last Thursday by an overwhelming 310-to-63 vote, is an admirable compromise, all things considered. It calls for a United States contribution of an additional 3 million tons of wheat on top of the 3.6 million tons this country has already furnished for the current year, and ties this new shipment to an equivalent 3 million ton contribution from other donors. This effort to encourage others to help meet India's needs—and to encourage India to get busy soliciting this help—makes good sense. This country can't hope to go on supplying a major portion of India's food needs indefinitely, without artificially expanding surplus production far beyond present levels. Others, including the Russian as well as the French and the Canadians, must get the habit of pitching in more heavily.

While the resolution is reasonably strict on this count, this will not exclude an Administration request for further shipments if India's food crisis worsens—and any additional American contribution would not be subject to the 50-50 ratio between our help and that of other countries. It is to be hoped that the Senate will follow the example of the House in combining firmness with a measure of flexibility.

Mr. COOPER. Mr. President, there is no doubt in my mind, and I am sure there is little doubt in the minds of my colleagues, that India is in critical need

of our food aid. And I see great merit in the reasons—economic, political, and humanitarian—that have been advanced here for our assuring food aid to the Republic of India.

But in the same way that I would expect a neighbor to whom I had given a helping hand to take advantage of that help and improve his condition, I would expect India to take advantage of this food aid and attempt to solve her food production problems so that she may move toward becoming self-sustaining. I believe that India with her critical food problems will do this.

I support fully the proposed allocation of food to India. Partly stimulating my support is a recent commitment by the Government of India to give high priority to planning for food self-sufficiency. I am happy to list the major agriculture targets of the Indian Government for 1967-68:

First. A 4-billion-rupee—\$533 million—investment in agriculture;

Second. Fertilizer production of 535,000 nutrient tons of nitrogen, 150,000 tons of phosphate;

Third. Fertilizer imports of 850,000 nutrient tons of nitrogen; 350,000 tons of phosphate, and 300,000 tons of potassium;

Fourth. A total of 15 million acres under new varieties of seed;

Fifth. One hundred and twenty-five million acres sprayed for crop protection;

Sixth. Increase of 3 million acres in minor irrigation and concentration on use of irrigation for intensive production;

Seventh. An increase of 1 billion rupees—\$133 million—in Government rural credit; and

Eighth. Increase of total commodity storage capacity by 1.35 million tons.

The Indian Government also plans to make a timely announcement of price support levels to encourage greater production; increase end-of-year government grain stocks through price supports; develop a national food distribution policy; and accelerate domestic production capacity for fertilizer and other agricultural inputs.

Mr. President, these are as yet plans. But they are plans which I believe can be carried out. They are plans which must be carried out if India expects to improve its food production after food-for-aid from developed nations such as the United States becomes scarce.

With present crop yields measured against the current population explosion, the increasing scarcity of food in the future seems to me a very real, however frightening, possibility.

I have spent some time in India. It is one of the few countries in the world which not only has established democratic institutions, but which practices democracy. In a country of a half billion people, the pressures on its borders require India to spend far too much for defense. With all the demands on its resources to progress economically and socially, its capacity to increase food production rapidly is limited. As a result, millions of its people are undernourished and in times of drought or flood thousands perish.

This resolution is founded on the purpose to assist India in time to become self-sufficient in food production. But immediately it carries also a high humanitarian purpose.

A REALISTIC POLICY ON INDIA

Mr. MUSKIE. Mr. President, if I thought that food aid to India were to turn into an exercise in perpetual motion, I could not in good conscience support the joint resolution. But I do not think this need be or will be the case.

I believe that India is moving ahead. I believe that India can eventually become a self-supporting Nation. If we refused to lend a hand, India could not make it. But as we do extend our assistance, I think India can pull through.

In saying this, I want to make it clear that I am not suggesting that we open the door of every American granary on behalf of India. This is a case where it is necessary that we extend our food aid on a measured basis and with some specific qualifications attached—including more self-help by India itself and more help from the outside by the other developed countries. The President, in my opinion, is acting wisely in insisting on these qualifications.

I wish to lend my own support to the joint resolution on food aid to India, and I hope that my distinguished colleagues will see fit to join with me.

HOPE FOR STABILITY IN INDIA

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, as we consider the joint resolution on support for India food aid, there is a certain amount of reassurance in the fact that the Congress Party won, even though by a slim margin, in the recent elections and in the fact that Mrs. Indira Gandhi will stay on as Prime Minister.

While we have sometimes wondered whether Mrs. Gandhi was not using too much of a velvet glove, at the same time we have known her to be intelligent, keenly aware of India's problems, and seriously devoted to solving them. As an Indian politician, she has had to be highly discreet in revealing any special friendship toward the United States—but we have suspected that behind the nationalistic image she projects there is a genuine feeling of warmth and friendship toward the West.

There seems to be general approval in the United States of the way the elections have turned out. The Washington Post on March 14 commented:

The re-election of Indira Gandhi as Prime Minister is a mark of the continued vitality of democracy in India. . . . India's political fabric has been strong enough to hold together during a period of savage economic and social difficulties, and during a period of vigorous politicking too.

Mrs. Gandhi demonstrated considerable skill and verve in rescuing her own position from the debris of the elections. But to the extent that the country's prospects hinge on the demonstrated political strength of its leadership, the outlook is unsure. India's difficulties have yet to induce an appropriate spirit of crisis unity. Mrs. Gandhi will need the active support of all Indians, and of all of India's foreign friends, in the five years ahead.

American food aid to India is, of course, a gamble—but it is a gamble we must take. If India can win her fight

against poverty and hunger, we will be rewarded many times over in many ways for our investment. But if India does not win, and particularly if she should fail to win because her friends did not help enough, it will go down in history as one of civilization's greatest tragedies.

The recent elections have given me renewed hope for stability and progress in India. I urge that we endorse the President's program for India food aid by giving our strong support to the joint resolution.

I ask unanimous consent that the Washington Post editorial be printed in the RECORD at this point.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MRS. GANDHI WINS

The re-election of Indira Gandhi as Prime Minister is a mark of the continued vitality of democracy in India. Next to the current convulsions in Peking, the order and consensus evident in New Delhi are particularly impressive. India's political fabric has been strong enough to hold together during a period of savage economic and social difficulties, and during a period of vigorous politicking too. That a number of heretofore sacrosanct politicians received a come-uppance at the hands of voters can hardly please those politicians. But it suggests a new and mature disposition among the electorate to demand high performance from its elected officials, regardless of who they are.

Mrs. Gandhi's position, as she begins a new five-year term, is, nonetheless, unenviable. Her Congress Party lost a hundred seats in Parliament. A formidable number of ministers and party leaders failed of re-election. Congress lost its majorities in seven of the 15 states it previously controlled. It remains to be seen if Mrs. Gandhi's leading political rival, the 72-year-old Morarji Desai, will be entirely helpful and cooperative in his new post as Deputy Prime Minister.

Mrs. Gandhi demonstrated considerable skill and verve in rescuing her own position from the debris of the elections. But to the extent that the country's prospects hinge on the demonstrated political strength of its leadership, the outlook is unsure. India's difficulties have yet to induce an appropriate spirit of crisis unity. Mrs. Gandhi will need the active support of all Indians, and of all of India's foreign friends, in the five years ahead.

AMERICA HOPES TO AID INDIA SOLVE ITS FOOD CRISIS—PRESIDENT JOHNSON AND SECRETARY FREEMAN REALISTIC IN TREATMENT OF AGRICULTURAL PROBLEM

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, I support the India food aid resolution. This measure is true to the American tradition—the tradition of helping a neighbor who finds himself in trouble through no real fault of his own and who is striving to solve his problems.

India is in trouble. With our good neighbor tradition, we cannot turn deaf ears to her appeal for help.

Despite the frustrations of successive droughts, India's continued determination to help herself is evident to the administration and to the Members of Congress.

An editorial in the March 2 issue of the Baltimore, Md., Sun carried the following comment on this point:

Secretary of Agriculture Freeman points out that Indian public investment in agriculture in the new five-year plan is to be doubled, with allocations in this fiscal year up by 43 percent. Our purpose as well as

India's, Mr. Freeman says, is to speed the time when massive outside help will no longer be necessary.

India is striving to extricate herself from the current food crisis, but she needs help.

When an individual is confronted with a sudden deprivation emergency, he has two options: he can mortgage his future by buying what he needs to meet the emergency with funds he cannot afford to spend; or he can turn to his neighbors for aid in the crisis. Countries beset by unforeseen emergencies are much like individuals. They, too, may have only two options.

The Baltimore Sun editorial examined the first of those options:

One of the conditions (for U.S. assistance) is that India make every effort to increase the efficiency and volume of its own agricultural production. On this point, Eugene V. Rostow, Under Secretary of State for political affairs, tells the House Agricultural Committee that dramatic steps have been taken, only to be "masked" by the temporary misfortune of two successive years of severe draught. Nobody would be helped, Mr. Rostow says, if the Indian Government were forced, because of the drought, to spend its scarce foreign exchange resources for emergency food and therefore to postpone agricultural and economic development already programmed.

Our investment in the future of India's agricultural and economic development is so substantial that it is not reasonable to abandon that investment now.

The Sun editorial noted this commitment:

From the American point of view the large fact is that, when we look at Asia as a whole, we have an important stake in the fate of the Indian democracy, whose success depends on the attainment of economic viability. For humanitarian reasons, in the present season of distress, we are acting toward India as we should act. For reasons of long-range policy, we must support the Indian striving toward self-sufficiency.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The joint resolution is open to further amendment. If there be no further amendment to be proposed, the question is on the engrossment and third reading of the joint resolution, as amended.

The joint resolution, as amended (H.J. Res. 267), was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, was read the third time, and passed, as follows:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Congress approves the participation of the United States in cooperation with other countries and with multilateral organizations, including the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, the Food and Agriculture Organization, and others, in urgent international efforts designed to—

(a) develop a comprehensive self-help approach to the war on hunger based on a fair sharing of the burden among the nations of the world;

(b) encourage and assist the Government of India in achieving food self-sufficiency; and

(c) help meet India's critical food and nutritional needs by making available agricultural commodities or other resources needed for food procurement or production.

Because uncertainty in connection with Public Law 480 transactions tends to depress

market prices, it is the sense of Congress that, in carrying out this Aid to India program, the Administration should, subject to the requirement of section 401 of Public Law 480 with respect to the availability of the commodity at the time of exportation, make announcements of intention, purchases and shipments of commodities on schedules and under circumstances which will protect and strengthen farm market prices to the maximum extent possible.

The Congress endorses the President's policy of equal participation on the part of the United States with all other nations, under terms and conditions set forth in Public Law 480, as amended, in assisting the Government of India to meet these needs.

Further, the Congress recommends, on the basis of estimates now available, that the United States provide an additional amount of food grain not to exceed three million tons at an estimated cost of \$190,000,000 as the United States share toward meeting the India food deficit, provided it is appropriately matched, and specifically extends its support to the allocation of approximately \$190,000,000 of funds available to the Commodity Credit Corporation in calendar year 1967 which will be required to accomplish this purpose.

The Congress further recommends that the President provide an additional \$25,000,000 of emergency food relief for distribution by CARE and other American voluntary agencies.

The preamble was agreed to.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I move that the vote by which the joint resolution was passed be reconsidered.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. President, I move that the motion to reconsider be laid on the table.

The motion to lay on the table was agreed to.

(At this point, Mr. BYRD of Virginia took the chair as Presiding Officer.)

INVESTMENT CREDIT, YES; SURTAX, NO—BUT LET US PLAY FAIR WITH CONSUMERS, TOO

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, the House Ways and Means Committee has ordered reported, and the House is expected to pass at any time now, H.R. 6950, a bill to restore the 7-percent investment tax credit and accelerated depreciation requested by the President on March 9. This indeed is welcome news and I concur in the need for the reinstatement of both incentives, particularly since several of my colleagues and myself have contended before their suspension that to eliminate them would increase the softness of those sectors of the economy which were even then slowing down.

The reinstatement of these incentives, as recommended by the administration, should make obvious the fact that their suspension was certainly not a revenue measure nor even a needed imposition of fiscal restraint. Secretary of the Treasury Fowler, in his statement before the House committee, states that the demand for capital goods remains at a point of "healthy buoyancy" and is not now indicative of "the excessive, threatening, boom conditions that prevailed last summer."

Mr. President, I maintain, as I did in my August 19, 1966, speech, that the economy did not then need a suspension of these business incentives, that the existing conditions did not constitute a

threatening "boom," and that any action to suspend the credits would harm the smaller businessman while not affecting substantially the industrial giants. Then leaders in industry, despite expensive interest rates and no tax credit, continued on their planned path of expansion, well aware that their 14- or 15-percent net return on investment makes the payment of a higher interest rate relatively inconsequential to them, that removal of the tax credit was bothersome but certainly not fatal to their expansion of productive capacity. The rush of money to banks for certificates of deposit and the record high-interest rates created a severe depression in the housing industry as funds available to the prospective homeowner were siphoned from savings and loan associations.

Who had all the money, Mr. President? The industries that were supposed to be cutting back as a result of the suspension of the tax credit and accelerated depreciation. Those who were penalized were those least able to afford it. There was indeed a slowing down of net capital investment, though their aggregate may be of smaller economic import than the industrial giants. The bellwethers of the economy were already slowing down well before the administration's recommended suspension of the investment credit and depreciation scale.

In my August 19 Senate statement "A New Strategy for the U.S. Economy," I said:

In very simple and precise terms, the answer to specific shortages and strains is not to deflate demand throughout the economy—and defeat inflation by creating recession—but rather to increase the supply of the specific type of commodity or of manpower for which there is excess demand. The deflationary meat-ax is not the answer.

Surely it was ironic, Mr. President, to attempt to slow a rise in prices brought on by insufficient supply by further curtailing supply through suspending incentives which would increase it. The result was, predictably, to prevent industry from expanding to meet demand at prices that are not inflationary.

The Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. PROXMIRE], chairman of the Joint Economic Committee, was one who joined me last year in opposing the suspension. Our views were supported by economic analyses and forecasts by highly reputable economists representing sound forums of economic and business expression. Secretary Fowler acknowledged that there would be a lag of a year or more, since the credit can be claimed only on completion of the investment project. Unless one has a distortion-free crystal ball, a suspension as a tool supposed to have a timely and expedient effect can not but carry its own seeds of failure, particularly if the restoration of credit should be made retroactive to the date of the suspension as some have suggested.

I understand, Mr. President, the difficult position of Secretary Fowler. A close analysis of his statements during the periods of, first, creating the incentives; second, suspending them; and now, third, restoring them, makes it apparent that he has been at times the unwilling spokesman for economic meas-

ures of very dubious wisdom. It is unfortunate that loyalty to the administration sometimes requires its officers to give lip service to politically inspired economic mismeasures. To buy easier credit from the Fed by inaugurating an investment credit suspension only to soon take it back is both bad economics and bad politics. We ought not to be subjected to the inconsistencies of unsettling economic legerdemain.

In short, Mr. President, this economically unwarranted suspension should be terminated as soon as feasible. The economic indicators, of which the administration has now taken notice, are certainly clear and compelling reasons for the recommended restoration. But they are also compelling evidence, it would logically seem, for not enacting a surtax that would have a further negative effect on the economy.

For practically all of the economic indicators, Mr. President, show and have shown for some time a slowing trend: GNP growth rate, housing, auto sales, capital investment, and employment figures, for example. While personal income has increased since last summer, this rate, to, is expected to slow down and stabilize in the months immediately ahead.

Mr. President, there is no more wisdom in a tax increase now than there was earlier for a suspension of the investment credit and accelerated depreciation. A deficit—which could be as high as \$2 billion if there is trouble selling participation certificates and if there is no tax increase—could closely mirror the escalation of the war in Vietnam. Since this is a result of administration foreign policy, the administration should bear the onus of responsibility in a candid manner and place the burden candidly on Vietnam. Further, a tax increase which slows the economy could very well result in a net loss of revenues to the Treasury, rather than a gain, and thus increase rather than decrease the deficit.

Mr. President, James Tobin, the distinguished Sterling Professor of Economics at Yale and former member of the Council of Economic Advisers, has written an article which appeared in the Washington Post of January 8, 1967. In it Professor Tobin most eloquently explains the seemingly obvious implications of the present economic slowdown. He points out that a tax increase might trigger our first wartime recession. I ask unanimous consent that Professor Tobin's article be printed in the RECORD at the conclusion of my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

(See exhibit 1.)

Mr. HARTKE. Mr. President, Professor Tobin on February 16, in his statement to the Joint Economic Committee, again expressed his view that a tax increase is not needed. Indeed, he foresees a possible need for a tax cut. There he said:

I conclude that in spite of the anticipated growth of Federal expenditures, including the proposed improvements of social security benefits, the restraints of current taxes and monetary policies taken together, are likely to be severe. Therefore, I do not now see

a case for the proposed 6% surcharge. Indeed, I can well imagine that in the course of the year it will prove desirable to restore the investment tax credit ahead of schedule.

I might point out that this statement by Professor on February 16 was less than a month before his prediction came true. I continue to quote from his statement before the Joint Economic Committee on February 16:

If Federal expenditures are cut below the budget, or if social security benefits are increased less or later than proposed, then stabilization considerations suggest that taxes should be reduced.

I completely agree with that point of view. The bill for restoration of the 7 percent credit, as it is being recommended from the Ways and Means Committee, in effect rescinds a tax increase and therefore is equivalent to providing a tax cut to business. Yet it is the business sector of the economy which is contributing higher profits than ever to the economic picture. Not that I am rising objections on this point.

I want it to be clearly understood that I favor the restoration. But it does leave us with a situation in which the need is for stemming possible recessing through supporting consumer spending as well as the quantities of production which can keep supply sufficiently high to restrain prices.

Let me make it clear at this point that the difficulty today in automobile sales is not that we do not have sufficient capacity to produce automobiles to sell to the public. The problem is that purchases are not forthcoming. Not enough people are willing to spend the money to pay for automobiles. In other words, there is a shortage of demand, not a shortage of supply.

Therefore, it is my conclusion that in order to maintain equity, we should consider not only rejecting the surtax proposal, but also providing equal treatment for the individual taxpayer. In other words, to repeal the investment credit suspension, yes; to increase taxes by a 6-percent surtax, no. Let us play fair with the consumers, too. I may well have more to say on this point later, either in the Senate or in the Committee on Finance as we consider the measure.

It is my understanding that the calculations of the Treasury before passage of the suspension were that the 7 percent credit would reduce corporate tax obligations by \$1,805 million in the 4 fiscal years 1967-70. On the same basis as before, if the recommendations of the Committee on Ways and Means become the law, allowing the credit on any eligible items acquired after March 10, the estimate for the 4 fiscal years is \$1,655 million. This means that the measure, during its period of operation, has resulted in a difference to the Treasury of some \$150 million. I am happy that the penalty upon business in monetary terms is no greater, although I am sure it has been very costly in terms of the disruption of plans and perhaps the need for their reactivation now.

But if the recommendations being made are adopted, there will also be a reversion to the rate originally suggested

when the tax credit was adopted. At that time, the proposal was that the credit should apply unconditionally on the first \$25,000 of tax and on 50 percent of the tax liability above that amount. However, as enacted, the 50 percent became 25 percent. Now, if the eligible amount is revised upward as the Ways and Means Committee is suggesting, instead of the \$1,655 million estimated 4-year Treasury cost, the figure will become \$1,860 million. This—and I approve of it—means that in the course of time such an arrangement will give a tax benefit amounting to \$205 million over and above the original calculations as to effect anticipated before the suspension. This will, on balance, offset the \$150 million lost in the suspension period and add a net gain of \$55 million in the fiscal years 1967-70 period.

Thus, with beneficiaries of the 7-percent credit as restored gaining to the extent of \$1.86 billion in the years through 1970, for the sake of equity and as a balancing measure in the economy, I believe we should consider the possibility of providing an equivalent individual income tax cut rather than moving to a surtax. Less than \$2 billion spread over a 4-year period is only about a \$500 million annual sum. Yet it would be a substantial indication that the individual will get equivalent treatment with corporations, at least in this one respect.

Mr. President, the 7-percent investment tax credit is not the only tax benefit which has been given and subsequently taken away. We did precisely the same thing in the matter of excise taxes on telephones and on automobiles.

Some people may have a little difficulty in keeping up with just when the taxes are put on and taken off. This seems to be a way of life. We put excise taxes on, and then take them off. We grant a suspension of the investment credit, and then we take it off. It goes up and down, in and out, like a Yo-Yo.

The excise tax on telephone service, local and long distance, was reduced by Congress in 1965 from 10 to 3 percent. The reduction took effect on January 1, 1966. But at the request of the administration, we passed in early 1966 the Tax Adjustment Act, which restored the full amount of the telephone tax. So beginning on April 1, 1966, the 3 percent so briefly paid, for only 3 months, went back to 10 percent. The remainder of the gradual schedule of reduction was retained, however, so that that 10 percent is scheduled to drop back all the way to 1 percent on April 1, 1968, and to be repealed entirely as of January 1, 1969.

Much the same is true of the automobile manufacturers' excise. The 10-percent tax previously in effect was cut to 7 percent as of June 22, 1965. It was reduced to 6 percent as of January 1, 1966, and then changed back to 7 percent again by the Tax Adjustment Act, effective March 16, 1966.

If anyone thinks people who are paying taxes have difficulty following this little transition, and if anyone thinks he has difficulty in following my statement today, just think how difficult it is for the little taxpayer trying to ascertain

what he is going to have to pay and how much he is going to have to account for. It is difficult for an individual to make decisions in that atmosphere, because one must have some idea of what is going to happen.

The reduction schedule for the future remains the same, however—to 1% in one jump as of April 1, 1968, and to nothing, with complete elimination on January 1, 1969.

Mr. President, I have suggested that equity for the small individual taxpayer could best be served if restoration of the 7-percent investment tax credit were to be accompanied by an equivalent tax break for non business taxes.

Here are two situations which are quite parallel, except that they affect not the large business expansion investor but the average person—and certainly the average person universally is affected by the telephone tax and by the automobile excise tax. Like the off-again, on-again, off-again investment tax credit, these have been taken off, then restored; but, unlike the tax credit, there is no move to give the equivalent relief to the little man by making a comparable change in either telephone or automobile excise.

Let us look at the dollar sums involved. I have noted that the Treasury estimate of loss by the action proposed on the 7-percent credit, as compared with the present situation, is almost \$2 billion in a 4-year period, or an average of about \$500 million annually. Reduction of the 10-percent telephone excise from 10- to the 3-percent level, which obtained for that short 3 months last year, would give the American taxpayer a saving of \$98 million for the remainder of 1967 fiscal year and \$703 million for fiscal 1968. As I noted, reduction will be to 2 percent on January 1, 1968, anyway. I contend that to take this action now would have a further beneficial effect, in that it would gradualize the action, so that the impact will not be in a sudden and possibly more unbalancing economic surge of consumer buying power on that 1968 date.

But perhaps even more appropriate, both for that reason—which involves a drop from 7 percent all the way to 2 percent in auto excises on April 1, 1968—and because of the present doldrums in the vast automobile industry, would be a reduction to the midpoint of 4 percent in the auto excise. Such a reduction would amount to a Treasury loss of \$177 million for the remainder of fiscal 1967 and \$513 million for fiscal 1968.

Such a reduction would amount to a Treasury loss of about \$177 million for the remainder of fiscal 1967, and \$513 million for fiscal 1968.

It is worth recalling that in the present state of the economy one of the slowest sectors of the economy is automobile sales. The auto industry, both in its primary and related activities, accounts for 30 percent of our Nation's economic activity. Thus either of these two measures would do two things: provide for the small taxpayer equity with the industrial sector by doing precisely the same thing we are doing in the investment tax credit restoration, and it would—particularly if applied to the auto excise—give a needed lift to a most

DIGEST of Congressional Proceedings

OF INTEREST TO THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20250
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Issued March 21, 1967
For actions of March 20, 1967
90th-1st: No. 44

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HIGHLIGHTS: See page 7

HOUSE

1. FOOD FOR INDIA. Agreed to the Senate amendment to H. J. Res. 267, to support emergency food assistance to India. This measure will now be sent to the President. See Digest No. 38 for provisions. p. H2919
2. ORGANIZATION; MANAGEMENT. Received the President's ^{message} on "The Quality of the American Government" (H. Doc. 90). In this message the President explained why he had recommended combination of the Commerce and Labor Departments, recommended the proposed Intergovernmental Manpower Act, and reported on

accomplishments in the fields of planning-programming-budgeting, cost reductions, and other aspects of management. pp. H2919-24

3. FOOD STAMPS; CHILD NUTRITION. The Agriculture Committee voted to report (but did not actually report) H. R. 1318 (amended), to amend the Food Stamp Act and the Child Nutrition Act. p. D193
4. CONGRESSIONAL REORGANIZATION. The Daily Digest states that the Agriculture Committee "Adopted a committee resolution recommending to the House that legislative jurisdiction over agricultural colleges and experiment stations and agricultural education extension services continue to be vested in the committee." p. D193
5. FARM LOANS. Both Houses received from this Department a proposed bill to authorize additional Farmers Home Administration loans for recreational enterprises, to remove the ceiling on the annual aggregate of insured housing loans for a temporary period, etc.; to House Agriculture Committee and Senate Agriculture and Forestry Committee. pp. H3081, S4008
Rep. Teague, Tex., commended the new Farmers Home Administration water development loan program. p. H3026
Rep. Hamilton reported on water development loans made in his district, Ind. p. H3027
6. USER CHARGES. Received from this Department a proposed bill to place on a self-supporting basis the special benefit portion of cotton classing, tobacco inspection, grain inspection, warehouse inspection and licensing, and related services; to Agriculture Committee. p. H3081
Received from this Department a proposed bill to provide for payment by handler assessments of part of the administrative costs relating to marketing orders; to Agriculture Committee. p. H3081
7. APPROPRIATIONS. The Appropriations Committee reported H. R. 7501, the Treasury-Post Office and Executive Office appropriation bill (H. Rept. 144). p. H3082
8. VETERANS. Passed under suspension of the rules S. 16 (in lieu of H. R. 2068) to increase pensions to certain veterans and their widows, and to provide additional readjustment assistance to veterans for service after Jan. 31, 1955. pp. H2928-51
9. HOLIDAYS. Passed, 313-35, under suspension of the rules H. R. 2513, to establish a Commission on National Observances and Holidays (composed of the Archivist, Librarian of Congress, and Smithsonian Secretary) to consider and make recommendations to the President on proposals for special observances and holidays. pp. H2955-60
10. COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS. Chairman Patman announced subcommittee memberships of the Banking and Currency Committee. pp. H2963-4
11. FOOD FOR PEACE. Rep. Findley inserted an article, "Food for Peace or Food for War?" pp. H2969-70

English firm that could conceivably make machetes for the Vietcong one day and for U.S. troops the next as England permits such trade.

This company had under bid two firms in my district on this procurement. I am pleased to announce to the House today that with the splendid help of the Committee on Armed Services, the Committee on Small Business, the Committee on Appropriations, and other people interested in seeing that this does not happen in the United States when we are fighting a vicious war in Vietnam, GSA has canceled this procurement and has advised all interested parties that in the future it will limit purchases of machetes to domestic sources, and wherever possible will restrict bidding to small business firms. I commend GSA for this action.

Mr. Speaker, during my inquiry into this subject I found a very glaring variance in our Government's procurement policies. DOD, in making purchases, permits a 50-percent bid factor in favor of U.S. companies. However, when GSA goes out to purchase items in the United States for DOD, it is limited to a 12-percent bid factor. This variance certainly works against small business in the United States as a greater percentage of GSA contracts go to the smaller companies than do DOD's contracts.

In fiscal 1966, 53.6 percent of GSA's procurement dollars went to small business, and only 21.8 percent of DOD's.

Mr. Speaker, for this reason and others, this 12-percent bid factor allowed by GSA should be increased immediately to the 50-percent bid factor used by DOD. I am certain this Congress will be paying close attention to this matter and will be interested in knowing how long it takes to eliminate this documentary variance.

NEW CONSULAR TREATY WITH THE SOVIETS

(Mr. GROSS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, the Consular Treaty has been ratified and the Communist world, particularly its headquarters in the Soviet Union, is bathed in the warmth, the glow and the understanding of the new friendship emanating from the United States.

Rising out of the Gulf of Tonkin, the iridescent sun heralds the dawn of this new day by illuminating the Russian freighters delivering their lethal cargoes to the Communist Vietcong, and the broken bodies of the Americans who were engaged in the fighting of the night.

Then the same iridescent sun dances its way across the steppes of Russia and on to the plains of Illinois and Texas, arousing a babble of strange voices in the new havens of immunity called consulates.

And in the dawning of this new day of East-West affection and understanding, from the Russian supported carnage in Vietnam to the increasing foreign babble on the western plains, there was heard sound recorded voices in an ode to the gallant men.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GROSS. I yield to the distinguished majority leader.

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman's rhetoric is more iridescent than the sun. I commend him on his language.

Mr. GROSS. I thank the gentleman. I thank him from the bottom of my heart.

SUBCOMMITTEE NO. 5 OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY—PERMISSION TO SIT DURING GENERAL DEBATE ON MARCH 21, 22, AND 23

Mr. ALBERT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Subcommittee No. 5 of the Committee on the Judiciary may be permitted to sit during general debate on March 21, 22, and 23.

This request is made on behalf of the gentleman from New York [Mr. CELLER], who advises me that it has been cleared with the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. McCULLOCH].

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Oklahoma?

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, what is the nature of these hearings? Does the gentleman know?

Mr. ALBERT. One of the members from the committee is here, and he can answer.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Iowa has reserved the right to object.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I have reserved the right to object to this unusual request.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GROSS. I yield to the gentleman.

Mr. ROGERS of Colorado. Subcommittee No. 5 of the House Committee on the Judiciary has combined the administration-sponsored anticrime bills in one package and is holding hearings on the package. The Attorney General is testifying. He has testified 2 days and it is anticipated he will be called back for further testimony on these crime bills.

Mr. GROSS. I wish the gentleman could assure us that someone, preferably the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, would appear before his committee to testify on the crime wave, especially in view of some of the decisions they have handed down.

EMERGENCY FOOD ASSISTANCE TO INDIA

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to take from the Speaker's desk the joint resolution (H.J. Res. 267) to support emergency food assistance to India, with an amendment of the Senate thereto, and concur in the Senate amendment, and I may say, Mr. Speaker, I have cleared this matter with the minority Member.

The Clerk read the title of the joint resolution.

The Clerk read the Senate amendment, as follows:

Page 3, line 7, after "should" insert: ", subject to the requirement of section 401 of

Public Law 480 with respect to the availability of the commodity at the time of exportation."

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

The Senate amendment was concurred in.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

SPECIAL ORDER VACATED

Mr. DENNEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the special order I have for March 20 may be vacated.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Nebraska?

There was no objection.

THE QUALITY OF AMERICAN GOVERNMENT—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES—(H. DOC. NO. 90)

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States which was read and referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union and ordered to be printed:

To the Congress of the United States:

THE BACKGROUND

History will say this of America—that it established a community of freedom and order, preserved and perfected the concept of democracy, and enriched the lives of its citizens—all under a rule of law.

The law is our instrument for developing our society along that vision of government which was the dream of our fathers and is the hope of our sons.

It is only part of the total instrument, however. The rest of that instrument is the institutional machinery which enables law to work in response to the will of the Congress and the people. It is a condition of any law that its effectiveness must be judged by its administration.

The machinery of our Government has served us well. It has been the vehicle of the greatest progress and prosperity any nation has ever achieved.

But this record should give us no cause for complacency. For any realistic review today reveals that there are substantial improvements to be made.

Further reorganization of the executive branch would make possible more effective government;

Administration of programs which are the joint responsibility of Federal, State, and local governments should be strengthened;

At every level of government, steps must be taken to assure a steady flow of qualified and trained managers and administrators for the years ahead;

We must pursue our efforts to expand the modern techniques which already are at work to reduce costs and improve the efficiency of government.

GOVERNMENT REORGANIZATION

Government's relative simplicity did not demand many major reforms in ad-

ministrative machinery until this century, with the great changes it brought to our society. Then Presidents beginning with Theodore Roosevelt began finding and reporting to the Congress obsolescence which hampered the efficient execution of the Nation's policies.

In 1937, Franklin Roosevelt and the 75th Congress were still harnessing the resources of Government to continue the rout of the great depression which had threatened to overwhelm the country. President Roosevelt submitted to the Congress a recommendation for reorganization legislation with these words:

A government without good management is a house bullded on sand.

Little more than a decade later, under President Truman's administration, a distinguished Commission headed by former President Herbert Hoover looked deeply into the need for reorganization and sounded the same warning:

The highest aims and ideals of democracy can be thwarted through excessive administrative costs and through waste, disunity, irresponsibility, and other byproducts of inefficient Government.

Since those words were spoken, the machinery of American Government has undergone many changes.

Two major ones have been accomplished in this administration:

In 1965, the 89th Congress established the Department of Housing and Urban Development, which brought the hope of renewed life for our cities.

In 1966, the same Congress provided the mechanism for straightening out our transportation lifeline by establishing the Department of Transportation.

In addition, in the same 2-year period we have completed 10 additional reorganizations to consolidate programs and strengthen functions. I have submitted two new reorganization plans so far this year.

We have not reached the end of the reorganizations which are required if we are to adapt our Government structure to the changes which have been taking place in our national life. Nor will we reach it soon.

Having undertaken major reorganizations in the fields of housing and community development, transportation, and water pollution, we must now carefully consider the question of how our Government can better be organized to achieve its major economic objectives.

In my state of the Union address, and later in my budget and economic messages to the Congress, I proposed the creation of a new Department of Business and Labor.

For 10 years, beginning in 1903, Labor and Commerce existed jointly as the ninth Cabinet office in the U.S. Government.

Then in 1913, President William Howard Taft, on his last day in office, signed the act which made them separate departments. The legislation which accomplished this was enacted in response to a growing belief that workers would be benefited by a voice distinctly their own in the highest councils of Government. Woodrow Wilson, the incoming President, expressed concisely the public's understanding of the action that had been taken.

The Department of Labor—

He said—

was created in the interest of the wage earners of the United States.

The concept of two departments representing the separate—and sometimes diverse—voices of business and labor in the Government family fitted the needs of the America of more than half century ago, and in diminishing degree that of the decades which followed.

The years with their changing conditions brought an increasing alteration of that concept. In the America which exists today, the concept has, I believe, lost much of its force.

Labor unions are no longer small and weak, struggling to achieve their legitimate aims. More than 18 million Americans are today members of organized labor groups.

Business is no longer principally confined to local firms operating in local markets. The complex mix of regional, national, and international markets involves the interests of all industries.

In a growing range of Federal programs—particularly those which relate to manpower training, regional and area economic development, and international trade—business and labor have a common interest, and a vast potential for cooperative action.

Except for their names, the Departments of Commerce and Labor are not the same departments as those which existed in the past. Both were once almost exclusively involved with statistical, and information programs, and regulatory activity.

Today a major part of the efforts of the Department of Commerce is directed toward economic development and the promotion of international trade.

Today a major part of the efforts of the Department of Labor is directed toward the training and development of manpower.

Conversely, there are many activities directly concerning industry and labor which are not in either Department.

My proposal for a new Department was designed not merely to merge the existing Departments of Commerce and Labor.

It envisioned the establishment of a single institution to unify the management of Government programs which affect the economic health of the Nation.

Among its other functions it would be the Federal agency responsible for:

Manpower training and regional economic development;

The promotion of international trade; Labor-management relations;

The principal collection and analysis of economic data;

Technological and science services; and

A wide range of other services to both industry and labor.

An important further consideration is that the new Department would add a strong voice to the formulation of economic policy in Government and would be the chief instrument for carrying out national policies affecting industry and labor. Its Secretary would be one of the primary Presidential advisers on matters affecting the entire range of national economic problems.

Finally, its unified system of field offices in local communities and cities across America would provide vital services to the worker, the businessman, and industry.

I strongly believe that, in the years ahead, the new Department will be a vital force for the prosperity and progress of a growing nation.

Since I first suggested the desirability of creating a new department, my advisers and I have consulted Members of Congress and a wide cross section of industry and labor representatives.

Many have expressed their belief that the new Department would be a distinct and necessary improvement over existing arrangements.

But others, agreeing that the new Department offered substantial advantages, have voiced the concern that abolition of the separate Departments of Commerce and Labor might inhibit the free flow of communication between government and the communities of business and labor.

Separate departments with their well-established channels of communication, many believe, continue to offer the best assurance that business and labor leaders will be able to present to the Federal Government their views on matters vitally affecting their interests.

I remain convinced that the establishment of a new Department would in no way diminish the legitimate voice of business and labor in the councils of the Nation.

Neither of these groups today depends on a special department to make its voice heard. Indeed neither uses a single channel of communication. The interests of both interweave so thoroughly through the entire fabric of government that no single agency can adequately serve the interests of either. Nonetheless, I respect the considerations which lie behind those views to the contrary.

In our democratic society, those whose lives and interests are affected by government policy must be assured full participation in the processes which lead to executive decision.

That is why I believe that further active development of my proposal is necessary before it can be submitted to Congress.

The mechanism by which this can best be achieved is available to us. It is the President's Advisory Committee on Labor-Management Policy. The Committee is composed of the Nation's wisest and most outstanding businessmen, labor leaders, and members of the public. When it was established by Executive order in 1961, President Kennedy expressed this hope:

... that the advice of this Committee will assist the Government, labor, management, and the general public to achieve greater understanding of the problems which beset us in these troubled times and to find solutions consistent with our democratic traditions, our free enterprise economy, and our determination that this country shall move forward to a better life for all its people.

I am asking the President's Advisory Committee on Labor-Management Policy to consider the proposal in all its aspects, and particularly to develop means to assure that a free flow of communications



Public Law 90-7
90th Congress, H. J. Res. 267
April 1, 1967

Joint Resolution

81 STAT. 7

To support emergency food assistance to India.

Whereas the Congress has declared it to be the policy of the United States to combat hunger and malnutrition and to encourage economic development in the developing countries; and

Whereas two years of drought have caused a grave food shortage in India which threatens the lives and health of millions of people; and

Whereas the urgency of the need of the Indian people and the time needed for congressional deliberation have required the United States already to commit three million six hundred thousand tons of grain valued at \$275,000,000 as a part of the eight to ten million tons of grain estimated to be required during the calendar year 1967 from outside India to prevent irreparable hardship to the people of India; and

Whereas the programs of economic and agricultural development which have been launched by the Government of India would be seriously impaired if the international community failed to act promptly and on an adequate scale to meet the urgent needs of the people of India: Therefore be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Congress approves the participation of the United States in cooperation with other countries and with multilateral organizations, including the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, the Food and Agriculture Organization, and others, in urgent international efforts designed to—

India.
Emergency food
assistance.

(a) develop a comprehensive self-help approach to the war on hunger based on a fair sharing of the burden among the nations of the world;

(b) encourage and assist the Government of India in achieving food self-sufficiency; and

(c) help meet India's critical food and nutritional needs by making available agricultural commodities or other resources needed for food procurement or production.

Because uncertainty in connection with Public Law 480 transactions tends to depress market prices, it is the sense of Congress that, in carrying out this Aid to India program, the Administration should, subject to the requirement of section 401 of Public Law 480 with respect to the availability of the commodity at the time of exportation, make announcements of intention, purchases and shipments of commodities on schedules and under circumstances which will protect and strengthen farm market prices to the maximum extent possible.

68 Stat. 454.
7 USC 1691 note.

80 Stat. 1535.
7 USC 1731.

The Congress endorses the President's policy of equal participation on the part of the United States with all other nations, under terms and conditions set forth in Public Law 480, as amended, in assisting the Government of India to meet these needs.

Equal partici-
pation by U. S.

Further, the Congress recommends, on the basis of estimates now available, that the United States provide an additional amount of food grain not to exceed three million tons at an estimated cost of \$190,000,000 as the United States share toward meeting the India food deficit, provided it is appropriately matched, and specifically extends its support to the allocation of approximately \$190,000,000 of funds

Additional food
grain.

Additional emergency food relief.

available to the Commodity Credit Corporation in calendar year 1967 which will be required to accomplish this purpose.

The Congress further recommends that the President provide an additional \$25,000,000 of emergency food relief for distribution by CARE and other American voluntary agencies.

Approved April 1, 1967, 12:22 p.m.

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY:

HOUSE REPORT No. 67 (Comm. on Agriculture).

SENATE REPORT No. 70 (Comm. on Agriculture & Forestry).

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Vol. 113 (1967);

Mar. 9: Considered and passed House.

Mar. 16: Considered and passed Senate, amended.

Mar. 20: House agreed to Senate amendment.